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Solidarity With Kosovo Miners Being Expressed

Writers Issue Statement

AU2702163689 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 27 Feb 89

["Chauvinism, Discrimination, and Terror Against Nations Are a Black Stain on the History of Those Who Apply Them—Statement by the Writers and Artists League of Albania"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 26 (ATA)—The Albanian writers and artists are following with deep emotion and anxiety what is happening these days with the Albanian miners of Trepca, with the Albanians of Kosovo that are in solidarity with them: workers, students, intellectuals.

The first question raised in this case is: What powerful and major trouble made these thousands of honest workers, for the most part men of mature age and with children, descend deeply below ground, choosing in this way the road of making martyrs of themselves? And the reply is shocking: They have descended there to defend their human rights, their national dignity, the equal treatment with the other peoples of federal Yugoslavia.

The Albanians have for years been accused of counterrevolution, because they demand that the Yugoslav Constitution be observed. For years they have been constantly attacked by the wave of slanders, offences, lies, and verbal and police terror, only because they seek justice and equality.

The second question is: Why all that arrogance and unprecedented cynicism towards the demands of those miners, who are citizens of the SFR of Yugoslavia? Only an unfounded prejudice explains this behaviour, the prejudice that these are not Slavs and with them you may behave as you like.

We are on the eve of the third millennium of civilization and the savage chauvinism, discrimination, and psychic and police terror against the nations are thrown in the dustbin of history. They are an indelible black stain on the history of those who apply it.

The Albanian writers and artists appeal to all the writers and intellectuals of Yugoslavia to raise their voice in defence of the human and national rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. No one who tolerates the oppression and genocide towards the others can be quiet in his consciousness.

The denunciation of chauvinism and national hatred and the affirmation of rapprochement and friendship among peoples has been and is a sacred duty of the writers and artists of all times and all the countries.

Press Reviewed

AU2802111789 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 28 Feb 89

["Press Review"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 28 (ATA)—The Albanian press devotes the main place to the course of events in Kosovo, the support for Trepca miners' resolute stand. Everywhere in work and production centers, various institutions of the country, the entire Albanian working people follow with special concern the heroic stand of Kosovo miners and other workers of Kosovo. In their rallies they are expressing their full solidarity with the just demands of Trepca miners.

The miners of the coal mine of Mushqeta, Tirana District, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT stressed, underscored among the other things that the Belgrade Government has turned a deaf ear to the painful reality of miners, students, and workers of Kosovo and do not listen to their demands. What kind of freedom, equality, and democracy does Milosevic speaks of, when he acts contrary to the desires of a whole people, when instead of examining their demands, he dispatches police and army troops in Kosovo?

Whereas the miners of Krrabe mine stressed that we are right to firmly raise the voice against the violation of the most elementary human rights of Kosovo miners, who constitute the heart of the working class. The miners of Kam mine, Tropoje District, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT stresses, in the course of their talks in the mine and everywhere, voice their profound indignation over the grave situation arisen in the Trepca mines and their hearts beat together with the Kosovo miners' hearts.

In the "Enver Hoxha" Automobile and Tractor Combine in Tirana it is felt the concern of all the working people for the destiny of Trepca striking miners. Besides the concern for the situation of Kosovo miners, it is also voiced the indignation to the policy of Serbian leadership in Kosovo. The Kosovo miners want to preserve the 1974 Constitution, the working people of this combine underscored. That is why we consider the act of Trepca miners heroic. They demand no more than belongs to them, equality with the other nations of Yugoslavia. But to attain this, the problem of Kosovo must be considered upon wisely, not with chauvinism.

The other newspapers extensively write about the solidarity with Kosovo miners and all the working people of Kosovo. In a letter issued in the newspaper PUNA a group of miners of Memaliaj mine, Tepelene District, stress among other things: The talk and concern of the day for us, the Memaliaj miners are the events taking place in Trepca and throughout Kosovo. We are in solidarity with them and powerfully support their just demands. We do not understand, why does the Yugoslav leadership adopt such a contemptuous and indifferent stand? What does it benefit from the painful and tragic events in Kosovo? Why isn't the voice of the Kosovo people heard, but only that of great Serb chauvinists? The Trepca miners coped with the extraordinary situations, made sacrifices to win those rights belonging to them. They chose this road because they experience on their shoulders offences and humiliation by the great Serb policy, that seeks to make the Albanians of Kosovo the most humiliated men, the poorest, the most ignorant people.

The newspaper PUNA stresses that meetings were also organized in the Valias mine, Tirana District. The miners stressed among others in their discussions that two measurements are applied in Yugoslavia to measure the demands of Serbs and Albanians. Scores of demonstrations staged by Serbs in which the appeal was launched "Murder the Albanians" were described "expression of democracy," whereas the Kosovo miners and all the people of Kosovo are threatened with tanks and police regime for their just demands.

The newspaper MESUESI carries a letter by a group of pedagogues of the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana, which says among the other things: "We consider fully legitimate the demands that the Albanians in Yugoslavia enjoy the same rights as all other nations and nationalities of this country, rights which they have won through the bloodshed in the National Liberation War and are sanctioned by the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution."

"As working people of education and science, we consider particularly discriminating the heavy blows dealt in Yugoslavia against education, culture, and against the spiritual values of the Albanian nation in general. We voice our desire that sound reason, wisdom, and coolheadedness finally prevail in solving Kosovo problem."

The newspaper MESUESI writes on the meetings organized in token of solidarity with Trepca miners, students and the whole people of Kosovo in various faculties of the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana, in different schools of the country, etc.

Today's newspapers carry an extended ATA chronicle entitled "From the Course of Events in Kosovo," pointing out that Trepca miners began to come out of the pit, that Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija resigned. They write on the manifestations of solidarity with Trepca miners as well as on the repercussion of the foreign press on the events in Kosovo.

Trial of Albanians in Yugoslavia Reported

AU2302131189 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tirana, February 22 (ATA)—As the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG reports, a court in Pristina conducted on February 20 another trial against 11 Albanian youngsters, under the already known charge "for acting from the positions of Albanian separatism and chauvinism."

This trial is part of the great campaign of sentences, and police persecutions toward the Albanians, which have not been interrupted since 1981 events in Kosovo.

Another news, issued in the newspaper RILINDJA of October 26, 1988, entitled "Almost 500,000 people are investigated by the home affairs organs" quoted the statement of the former regional secretary of home affairs and now chairman of the Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Rahman Morina, which said that "since 1981 until now the Home Affairs Secretariat organs have brought actions against 79,223 people and issued writs of denunciation against 93,030 persons, whereas such measures as remand into custody, arrests, deprivation of freedom, and summons by home affairs organs are adopted against 314,120 others."

Another news of RILINDJA, issued on November 6, 1988, referring to the data of Regional Home Affairs Secretariat of Kosovo, within 1986-1987 and the first half of 1988, different sentences were passed on 182,776 Albanians.

Construction Minister, Delegation Leave for SRV

AU2602140689 Tirana ATA in English 0950 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Tirana, February 26 (ATA)—A government trade delegation of the PSR of Albania, headed by the minister of construction, Ismail Ahmeti, left for the SR of Vietnam. The delegation was seen off by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, and other comrades.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Vietnam to the PSR of Albania, Le Ngoc Thanh.

Zhivkov, CSSR's Lenart Discuss Cooperation

AU2702183289 Sofia BTA in English
1729 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, president of the State Council of Bulgaria received today Mr Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party who is paying a working visit to this country.

The guest provided information on the process of restructuring in Czechoslovakia and on the activity of the party and state bodies.

Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke of the decisions of the December 1988 Plenum of the CC of the BCP and outlined the concrete ways for renovation in all spheres of life.

The two sides discussed issues of cooperation between the BCP and the CCP, between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

Diplomatic Consultations Held With USSR

AU2402195789 Sofia BTA in English
1644 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—From February 22 through February 24 consultations were held in Sofia between delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R. on problems related to the activity of the U.N. and the international organizations specialized in international economic relations.

The delegations were headed by Mr Dimitur Popov, ambassador, chief of Department "International Economic Organizations", and Mr Sergey Biryulev, ambassador, deputy chief of department "International Economic Relations".

During the talks which passed in a cordial, friendly and businesslike atmosphere, the delegations had an exchange of views on the problems discussed which was very useful for both sides.

The head of the Soviet delegation, Mr Sergey Biryulev, was received by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Further on Official Talks With Iraq's Ramadan

Cooperation Analyzed

AU2302141089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Feb 89 p 6

[Text] Official talks between the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Iraq, led by Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov and Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy premier of Iraq, began in Sofia late in the afternoon of 21 February. The delegations analyzed the results of cooperation in those fields in which the two countries maintain the closest links. Satisfaction was voiced with the very good development of economic relations, which has been favored by the great number of intergovernmental deals, agreements, and protocols in force. Todor Zhivkov and Saddam Husayn, the top leaders of Bulgaria and Iraq, had performed fundamental services in this respect. The agreements they reached during their meeting in 1980 were implemented during the following 7-8 years, and the concrete results now show not only an expansion of trade and economic links, but also a marked diversification of their forms. Stress was also laid upon the undoubted importance of what had been achieved by the Bulgarian-Iraqi Committee on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation and the rich experience the committee had gained over the 20 years since its formation.

A useful and specific exchange of ideas and views took place on the prospects for bilateral relations. These are promoted by a number of favorable factors, such as the cease-fire in the Persian Gulf region, the contemporary international situation, and the domestic tasks that our two countries are resolving. The conviction was expressed that these conditions will promote a transition to a new stage in the cooperation between Bulgaria and Iraq. It was noted that there is a need to deepen trade and economic links by looking for opportunities to enrich the previous forms in this sphere. Stress was put on the ways by which we can advance more boldly to implement industrial production sharing, technology transfer, joint construction and operation of various facilities, and the entry into third countries' markets. In this connection, it would be expedient to consider setting up joint engineering organizations for construction in the fields of industry, agriculture, and transport infrastructure.

During the talks, special attention was paid to the main features characterizing the development of Bulgaria and Iraq at the present stage. Comrade Georgi Atanasov spoke about the most important features of the reforms that encompass various fields of life. He spoke about the profound changes in the structure of social production, the new approach to building up the economy, and, in particular, about the company-based organization of the national economy. An important place was given to the restructuring in our political system, the main aim of which is to involve the workers most actively in managing the country.

Taha Yasin Ramadan spoke about the tasks that the Iraqi Government is resolving in stabilizing the country's economy. He devoted particular attention to the tasks that the newly formed Arab Cooperation Council, of which the Republic of Iraq is a member, is setting itself.

The two leaders discussed topical international issues. They stressed that the realities of the modern world require a further expansion of the international political dialogue and the negotiation process, through the permanent and active participation of all countries. In this context, the chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers stressed that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is actively working to confirm the positive trends in the relations between the Balkan countries and to improve the political climate in the region. He also stated that our country welcomes the ceasefire on the Iranian-Iraqi front and the beginning of negotiations between the two states under the aegis of the UN general secretary.

Bulgaria's position on the Palestinian issue was stated once again, namely that this issue cannot be resolved without guaranteeing the inalienable rights to self-determination and creation of an independent Palestinian state.

Final Talks Held

AU2402105389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Text] In the Boyana Residence in Sofia on 22 February, Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, received Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Iraq, who is paying an official friendly visit to Bulgaria.

The guest handed over a written message from Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq and chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, as well as most cordial good wishes from the latter for the prosperity of the Bulgarian people. Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed thanks, and for his part sent most sincere greetings to the top Iraqi leader, with good wishes for the prosperity of the people of Iraq.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated that the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great importance to its ties with Iraq, which are built upon a strong basis and are developing well. The friendly relations created fully correspond to the two peoples' interests. Our top party and state leader expressed confidence that the present Bulgarian-Iraqi dialogue will stimulate further cooperation.

The view was shared that the economic field will remain in the future the most dynamic sphere of the bilateral cooperation. A number of new opportunities are being revealed in this field, which our two countries will try to utilize in the most rational manner, in accordance with the contemporary conditions of development.

During the talks, topical issues in the international situation were also discussed. Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that Bulgaria welcomes the cessation of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, and voiced a profound conviction that now a real possibility is opening up for the peoples of both these countries to establish a lasting and just peace in the region.

The meeting, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

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Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon in honor of Taha Yasin Ramadan. The luncheon, held in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, and the officials accompanying the guest.

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Final talks were held in the Boyana Residence in Sofia between State Council Chairman Georgi Atanasov and Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Iraq. Both leaders assessed the talks as useful and productive, and said that they gave concrete expression to the main directions of cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical, and cultural fields. The prerequisites are at hand for a transition to a qualitatively new stage in the bilateral cooperation.

Within the framework of the 2-day Bulgarian-Iraqi dialogue, the Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation also held a session. This session summed up the results of what had been achieved previously, and on this basis outlined the ways for deepening the links in all spheres that were of mutual interest.

The chairman of the two sections of the commission, Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and Karim Hasan Rida, Iraq's minister of agriculture and irrigation, signed a protocol on the 20th session.

Dzhurov at Soviet Army Day 'Festive Meeting'

AU2402135689 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Report by Major Petyo Dafinkichev and Captain Dragomir Zakhariev on festive meeting in Sofia on 22 February to mark the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces: "Indestructible Pillar of Peace"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In marking the 71st anniversary of the Armed Forces of the first socialist state in the world, we express our profound gratitude and respect for the millions of Soviet soldiers who perished in the flames of the revolution, the Civil War, and the Great Patriotic War, for the triumph of peace and socialism, and our respect for the feats of those who stand on guard today in defense of peace-loving mankind.

The festive meeting held on the evening of 22 February in the Central People's Army Club in Sofia was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense; Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Nationwide Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship; Colonel General Velko Palin, chief of the Social and National Security Department of the BCP Central Committee; Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense; Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; deputy ministers of national defense; leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations; generals and officers; soldiers from the Sofia garrison, citizens, and visitors.

Also present were Viktor Sharapov, Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria; Colonel General Ivan Gashkov, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces with the Bulgarian People's Army; Major General Givi Ordzhonikidze, military, naval, and air force attache at the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria; and military attaches from the socialist countries accredited in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian and Soviet national anthems were played.

The meeting was opened and chaired by Pencho Penchev, first deputy chairman of Sofia City People's Council.

Lieutenant General Lyubcho Toshkov delivered an address to mark the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. [passage omitted]

Regulations on Economic Decree Published
AU2002153789

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 17 February on pages 3-6 carries the 17,000-word document entitled "The Regulation of the Enforcement of the Decree on Economic Activity," adopted on 15 February by the Council of Ministers, consisting of 167 articles grouped in 9 chapters. It elaborates on the Decree on Economic Activity, and to a large degree merely points out which articles in the decree apply to the matters explained by the regulations on the enforcement of the Decree on Economic Activity.

The first chapter is entitled "Companies." It specifies four kinds of companies that can be established: joint-stock, limited-liability, unlimited, and citizens' companies. The chapter lists the conditions that determine when a company can be set up, the leading organs and the rules of the election of these organs, as well as the rules establishing labor wages, the establishment of subsidiaries, and determining the scope of operations.

The second chapter is entitled "Discontinuation and Liquidation." It specifies the rules that determine the liquidation of companies, as well as the roles of the company organs and the court in determining the issue of liquidation.

The third chapter is entitled "State Regulation of Economic Activity." It discusses the role of the state in guiding the companies' activity. The state regulates economic activity in three areas:

a) Pricing. It is pointed out that prices are formed on the basis of "prices in the international market" and "supply and demand" in the domestic market. In addition it is stressed that "prices of goods and services of special importance for the standard of living, as well as prices of certain raw materials, other materials, and transportation services are determined and registered by the state organs on the basis of lists approved by the Council of Ministers." It is also emphasized that "state organs on prices will exercise systematic leadership and control in correcting, forming, and applying prices."

b) Relations between the companies and the budget. This part of the document lists the various taxes that are to be paid by the companies, and asserts that "the companies will pay income taxes on a monthly basis, due by the 20th of the month after the one for which the tax is paid." It is stated that "municipal and cooperative companies will pay their income tax to the budget of the respective municipal people's council on whose territory they operate." While losses can be deducted from income taxes, the document also specifies that "no premiums or subsidies for the production of obsolete or unsolicited production will be provided by the state budget. The same applies to losses and low profits due to subjective causes."

c) Profit formation and distribution. The document determines that "the companies form and distribute their profits on the basis of financial income, which results from marketing their production and services." It contains a "plan for distributing the profit," which includes payments for income tax, payments to the municipal people's councils, insurance, the "Development and Technological Renewal" Fund, wages, payments to the labor collectives for stimulating better results, and so forth. It is pointed out that "no foreign currency expenditures which are not related to the companies' economic activity are allowed."

The fourth chapter is entitled "Labor Wages." It establishes the rules of determining the labor wages, as well as annual financial awards or special awards for stimulating efficiency and better production. The document points out that "price discounts and compensations for damage due to low quality production, damaged goods, and other sanctions related to production will be deducted from the means allocated for labor wages." In addition, it is stressed that "the companies themselves will determine the form and manner of labor wages"; however, "the companies cannot introduce additional wages and premiums related to labor conditions, except those that have been established by a legal act."

The fifth chapter is entitled "Bonds and Staff Shares." It defines bonds as "valuable documents issued by companies or people's councils, according to which there is an obligation to pay the legal owner the relevant interest or nominal value within predetermined terms." In addition, it is stressed that "bonds can be issued only with the permission of the minister of planning and economy," and that "bonds can only be issued for investment purposes." Bonds can be purchased and negotiated by Bulgarian citizens; however, "they cannot be exported across the borders of the country." The payment of the bonds can be guaranteed "by companies, banks, or the state if they have been issued by the people's councils, and by other companies or banks, or if they have been issued by the companies."

The document defines staff shares as "valuable documents issued by the companies, with whose value the members of the labor collectives participate in financing the company's economic and social development with their own means." The nominal value of the staff shares is paid by the "Development and Technological Renewal" Fund withing 3 months from the day of presenting the demand.

The sixth chapter is entitled "Leasing." It establishes the rules of leasing the company's property to "citizens, families, collectives of citizens, cooperatives, or other companies." The document specifies the legal procedure involved in leasing property and lists the legal obligations of the sides involved in the operation, as well as the rules of terminating the lease.

The seventh chapter is entitled "Relations With Banks." It asserts that "the companies implement their relations with the banks on the basis of regulations adopted by the Council of Ministers, and contracts that have been signed."

The eighth chapter is entitled "Voluntary Economic Arbitration." It points out that "voluntary economic arbitration has been established at the Industrial Trade Union." It consists of a collegium of arbiters and members elected for 5 years. "The companies can turn to the voluntary economic arbitration to settle property disputes on the basis of a written agreement." Voluntary economic arbitration decisions can be abolished on the basis of the Civil Procedure Code.

The ninth and final chapter is entitled "Economic Activity of Foreign and Mixed Companies in the Country." The following persons are defined as foreigners: "Judicial persons whose residence is abroad," and "Foreign citizens, who immediately prior to the beginning of their economic activity in Bulgaria have permanently resided abroad." In addition, the document defines "economic activity of foreign citizens as "every activity performed in Bulgaria with the intent to realize profit." The rules for establishing taxes and their payment are listed. A 40 percent tax on the profit is envisaged. "The investments in the country are deducted from the profit" for the purpose of setting the tax.

In conclusion it is pointed out that "The Regulations on Enforcing the Economic Activity Decree" have been adopted by Decree No 2 of the Council of Ministers of 15 February 1989.

Jakes Addresses Prague City Party Session

AU2302102689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, at a session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee on 20 February]

[Text] In the opening part of his speech, Comrade Milos Jakes spoke about the implementation of the tasks of restructuring and democratization in the party and society.

He said that the overall general experience to date affirms that the course of restructuring and democratization enjoys the broad support of the party and the public. At the same time it shows that this is a complex process connected with the need to master new tasks placed before us by the present times, tasks which demand from us to decisively overcome everything that has become outdated and rigid, that retards our progress. The accumulated problems from the previous development also burden us.

It is natural that restructuring, as a weighty change in the life of society—Milos Jakes continued—brings with itself a number of ambiguities. Various doubts and wait-and-see attitudes crop up. Questions are often raised concerning whether what we strive for is in harmony with our socialist ideals and goals. It is necessary to say that our position in this respect is quite clear: Real values of socialism must not be weakened, negated, but—on the contrary—socialism must be strengthened by using all of its advantages, by developing its humanistic essence in the interest of the growth of the standard of the people's material and cultural lives.

The situation is being complicated by the fact that certain forces are trying to misuse restructuring, errors, and shortcomings to destabilize our socialist system, to denigrate the role of the party and the results which we have achieved in the course of constructing socialism. We must also deal with this in the future. We must be interested in winning over all honest people, including those who mark their time or err, for the policy of restructuring and democratization. This must be the determining and decisive thing for our course. We regard political activity as our main focus headed by our party and the Communists, actively assisted by the other political parties, social and special-interest organizations and the entire National Front. At the same time it is necessary to vehemently oppose all who follow objectives alien to socialism and the interests of our people.

Milos Jakes further spoke about the foreign-political aspects of our domestic development. He spoke about issues that are on the agenda of talks connected with perfecting the international socialist division of labor, including the mechanism of cooperation within the CEMA framework, and elevating them to meet the demands of the times. The planned meeting of the highest party representatives of the CEMA member states, which will be held in Prague, should play an important role in that respect. The official friendly visit by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to the Soviet Union, his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, and his talks with Nikolay Ryzhkov have yielded important conclusions for further cooperation, especially in the next 5-year plan. A document entitled The Concept of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation for 15-20 Years was signed.

In order to master new tasks and more emphatically resolve difficulties and shortcomings, it is vital to consistently implement adopted conclusions and measures. It always applied and it applies now that people assess matters not according to plans made, but according to real results, according to changes in their lives. In other words, correct resolutions and verbal support alone will not help to achieve desirable changes; but concrete work and practical actions for the good of restructuring and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development will.

Respecting the interests of society has its concrete content: This content is to better satisfy the needs of the people, create desirable resources for increasing personal and social consumption, for the further dynamic development of our society as a whole. The restructuring of the economic mechanism is concentrating on this, something for which the party organizations must also strive. The fundamental purpose of all this is to make the economy function better, markedly strengthen its social orientation, make it prosper from the viewpoint of the needs and interests of enterprises and their employees, as well as from the viewpoint of the whole of society. It is obvious that the new economic mechanism will not ensure these objectives automatically. The standard of direct management and organizational activity of ranking personnel on all levels, supported by political maturity and the ability to see matters not only from the viewpoint of narrow departmental or enterprise interests, but in broad social contexts remains the decisive factor. This also places great demands on the cadre work which just now is acquiring exceptional importance. The important thing is to have in party positions, as well as in all other sectors, competent people, people who are well prepared politically and professionally, who are morally firm, who are not only capable, but also willing to implement tasks.

The high standard of the work of the party, its unity, its ability to politically lead and unite people, are the key to mastering all the tasks we are facing. In this connection we must continue to return to the conclusions and ideas of the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, which addressed the key issues of the work of the party and the deepening of its leading role under the conditions of restructuring and democratization, the need to change the style and methods of the party work. The conclusions of that session are highly topical precisely at this time.

Precisely in light of those conclusions, from the viewpoint of the criteria contained in them, we must systematically gauge the effectiveness of the party work in every sector.

The demand for substantially enhancing the quality of the party work is all the more urgent because this year we entered a period of intensive preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. To ensure the party's ability to positively fulfill its role as political vanguard, we must be able to correctly assess the state of affairs, know what we want and our destination. We must succeed in having the party present itself as a real fighting force everywhere. To this end it is necessary to mobilize not only party bodies and committees of primary organizations, but all Communists, so that they become models in the realization of the program of restructuring and democratization, in the solution of all urgent tasks and problems, so that they would, through a frank, convincing, and assertive dialogue with people, win them over and unite them for the policy of the party, for concrete deeds. This is the only way to create a healthy, creative, morally political atmosphere in society, at all worksites, everywhere. In this, the work of the Communists in social and special interest organizations and national committees plays an indispensable role.

The most important thing is having people really fighting for the policy of the party within party ranks. And the present time, the revolutionary program which we have established for ourselves require this with particular urgency, all the more so since we are implementing this program in a difficult period. Communists must feel direct personal responsibility for the situation in places where they work and live, throughout the state. They also must express this responsibility with concrete deeds.

Milos Jakes further noted that the centerpiece of party life must be in primary organizations and at worksites, where decisions are made regarding the practical implementation of policy. This requires the party organizations to be the true political core of work and civic collectives, to know how people live and work, their views, their problems, the general atmosphere within the range of a party organization's activity.

What must be decisive for the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress? What must be the main content of the pre-congress period? Above all, the evolving of broad working and social activity and initiative aimed at implementing this year's tasks, and minimalizing shortfalls when it comes to ensuring the projections of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. It is necessary to orient our main attention toward stabilizing the domestic market, eliminating shortcomings which make people's lives difficult and which are subject to justified criticism. In many respects, this depends on the strengthening of the people's trust in and their active support for party policy.

In this connection Milos Jakes noted that at the same time one must—everywhere and with the highest degree of responsibility—do everything for the process of economic and social restructuring and for the deepening of socialist democracy to continue to develop further. In this respect the most important requirement is to concentrate our attention on establishing good political, economic, organizational, ideological, and cadre conditions for the implementation of the new economic mechanism as of 1 January 1990, a mechanism which has been implemented in the agricultural sector since 1 January this year.

Another exceptionally important task is the quality preparation of the basic congress documents as well as of the principles of the new CSSR Constitution. At the same time we want to make maximum use of the collective experience and wisdom of the whole party and the broadest strata of our citizens. The extensive intraparty and nationwide discussion, through which we are considering the basic congress documents and the principles of the new CSSR Constitution, will be an opportunity to develop a dialogue in the party and society, to assess the achieved level of the development of our society and, especially, its further socialist perspectives.

The CPCZ Central Committee general secretary also spoke about the importance of ideological work. The important thing is that this work clarifies in all contexts topical issues and problems, and strengthens the people's conviction about the correctness of the path on which we have embarked.

Our program is constructive work for the good of the people of our country, for the benefit of world socialism, progress, and peace. It is necessary to imbue the entire party and society with the awareness that nobody will solve for us the tasks we are facing and the problems with which we are grappling. The results depend on us alone, on our will, determination, and selflessness, Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, stressed in the closing part of his speech.

Stepan Notes 'Dogmatic Application' of 'Lessons'

AU2402182589 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 21 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

["VP"-signed report: "We Must Fight for the Future; Session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee"]

[Excerpts] Prague—A plenary meeting of the Prague CPCZ City Committee was held in Prague yesterday afternoon to discuss a report of the CPCZ City Committee Presidium on activating the Prague party organization in ensuring the tasks of restructuring and democratization during preparations for annual members meetings and party conferences. The session was attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other guests. The report of the Presidium, which provided the groundwork for an extensive discussion, was delivered by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee.

As he stressed at the outset of his speech, the busy and complex present is demolishing ingrained notions and stereotypes. All the greater are the demands which it places on every Communist. "We must wake up, sober up from a certain self-complacency that breeds stagnation, and without panic, calmly, competently, and with optimism more consistently and more rapidly implement in Prague the program of restructuring and democratization formulated at the last CPCZ Central Committee sessions." As Comrade Stepan stressed, this is the only road ahead, in defiance of all difficulties and intricacies. All honest people of Prague must be enlisted for this program. [passage omitted]

The report noted that, despite undeniable positive features, party organizations have not yet moved toward new forms and methods of work and the city party organization voiced dissatisfaction with the progress achieved thus far in overcoming shortcomings in the fulfillment of economic tasks and with the draft plans for this year.

In his speech Comrade Stepan was equally critical of the work of party organizations. Above all, he stressed the need for the action unity of Communists. He said, among other things: "The party cannot live only on past successes, but it must constantly fight for its leading role." Further on, he said: "We know that in many CPCZ primary organizations and also in society there exists a certain syndrome of the years of crisis 1968-69. This is caused by the fact that we did not work sufficiently with the 'Lessons Drawn From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society,' a document that has its historical validity. However, its non-creative, non-dynamic, and at times even dogmatic application has resulted in a situation that, as time went by, a number of questions have become taboo and have not been spoken of."

This is also why he stressed the need to analyze past years. At issue is a frank discussion in party organizations on all issues; this discussion is a major constituent part of preparations for annual members meetings and party conferences. It is also inspired by the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of Victorious February, which is carried by today's daily press. The first step of preparations for annual party meetings will be discussions with every party member and candidate member, at which the party expects to produce also an honest evaluation of every Communist's stand. As was clearly stated yesterday, "the party holds in esteem every member but at the same time it places great demands on him and it will uncompromisingly part ways with everyone who does not live up to the high demands on the moral profile of a Communist." All these steps are essential to achieve the party's unity in action, which is necessary if the party is to fulfill its role of the leading force in the restructuring of our society. [passage omitted]

Pitra Comments on Church-State Relations

LD2402071589 Prague CTK in English
1429 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 22 [date as received] (CTK)—"My first meeting with representatives of churches and religious communities in the function of premier...was held in the atmosphere of bilaterally realistic approach to the issues of common interest," Premier of the Czech Government Frantisek Pitra has told CTK on Tuesday's [21 February] meeting in Prague.

He said that church representatives assured him that they will take part in the implementation of the program declared by the government, whose results will benefit citizens regardless of their beliefs. "I welcomed also the frankness with which they informed me of their everyday problems as well as of happy events. This documents confidence with which they approach a dialogue whose bilateral development is in our interest," Frantisek Pitra said.

Speaking of concrete results of this dialogue, he said that there is a new system of pupils' application for admission to scripture lessons, ways have been found to strengthen the autonomy of international relations within churches, measures have been adopted in the sphere of basic religious literature. The Czech Government has recently consented to public activities of the Apostolic Church in the Czech Socialist Republic.

"Believers ask how the conclusions of the Vienna talks will be reflected in the life of churches and religious communities. These issues are being intensively attended to," Frantisek Pitra said, adding that a working meeting of the Czech culture minister with representaties of churches will be held next month.

Speaking of the principles that should be observed in the dialogue between the states and the churches, the Czech premier said: "We definitely want to be a mutual dialogue and not separate monologues. The state administration bodies now face a demand to respect the autonomy of internal church relations. The churches and religious communities expressed at Tuesday's meeting their readiness to create their external ties to society in harmony with the socialist character of social relations. The meeting convinced me of the willingness of both parties to proceed from these positions in mutual dialogue."

Vicarrius capitularis of the Brno Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church Prelate Ludvik Horky has told CTK that he believes that relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church, which have changed lately, will further improve.

Dean of the Huss Theological Faculty in Prague and chairman of the Regional Committee of the Christian Peace Conference in Czecholsovakia Professor Milan Salajka has said that his association is encouraged by new phenomena in international life. "We will continue to help seek justice for the developing countries and continents, " he said.

He said that the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, whose member he is, should become a platform of permanent dialogue on the sense and mission of human rights, their character and observance.

Western Criticism of Havel Verdict Dismissed

AU2402121589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Feb 89 p 7

[Josef Nyvlt commentary: "We Uphold a Right Which We Do Not Deny to Others"]

[Text] International reactions to the decision of our court in the criminal case of V. Havel and other instigators of the January disturbances in Wenceslas Square do not consist only of disapproving commentaries of the reactionary press, of which one cannot expect a different attitude in such cases. Some politicians, too, especially in NATO countries, have assumed a stand. Many of them claim that the court proceedings in Prague supposedly constitute a violation of the recently adopted final document of the Vienna meeting.

"The law is the law" is Ronald Reagan's favorite and oft-quoted dictum with which he used to justify any court ruling directed against U.S. citizens. The wording and the evolution of laws is an internal matter of the people of each country. Even when critically reporting on police brutality, discrimination, or a pliable interpretation of law—in the United States, for instance—our radio and other mass information and propaganda media have never organized demonstrations before the White House and have never forced upon the U.S. Administration what sort of laws it should have and how it should exercise them.

The existing laws are the basis for the normal functioning of every society. The alternative to nonobservance and failure to respect them is wilfulness and then anarchy as a consequence. None of the international documents from Helsinki to Vienna denies sovereignty to its signatory states, their right to stand up for the defense of their laws.

The final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting, in the section concerning security in Europe (see RUDE PRAVO of 21 January 1989), explicitly mentions the right of states to declare their own laws and to determine their own policy. The Vienna meeting also reaffirmed the significance and validity of the 10 principles of interstate relations as formulated by the Helsinki CSCE Final Act. In 1975 the highest representatives of 35 countries confirmed with their signatures a document, whose part I, point VI states: "Regardless of their mutual relations, the participating states will refrain from any direct and indirect, individual and collective interference in the internal and foreign affairs falling within the internal jurisdiction of another participating state.... In accordance with this, they will refrain, inter alia, from direct and indirect support of terrorist, subversive, or other activity aimed at overthrowing by force the regime of another participating state."

It is not customary in the West, and it is even regarded as a misdeed, for officials to criticize or balk at the decisions adopted by the courts of their country. Such intervention is even regulated by law in their countries. Why then do some official representatives from these Western countries claim the right to intervene, interfere, and protest against the decision of a Czechoslovak court, against legislation being exercised in our country?

The state, regardless of its social system and regardless of which social values it professes, cannot permit activity violating its laws, even if some officials try to place it under the guardianship of some self-proclaimed international tribunal.

We in Czechoslovak conduct a dialogue on our internal problems and want to develop it, as we have said on numerous occasions. However, it must be a dialogue without interference from abroad and based, of course, exclusively on Czechoslovak laws and the Czechoslovak Constitution. We uphold a right which we do not deny to others.

Inflamed feelings do not benefit anyone. A cool head is always in place in politics and diplomacy.

Further on Verdicts in Prague 'Unrest' Cases

AU2402144289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Feb 89 p 2

["jc"-signed report: "Judgment on Initiators of Unrest Passed"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)— Wednesday [22 February] night the Municipal District Court for Prague-2 passed judgment on the initiators of the antisocial demonstration in Prague of 16 January.

The court proceedings against defendants Jana Petrova, Otakar Veverka, David Nemec, Stanislav Penc, Petr Placak, Jana Sternova, and Alexandr Vondra, doctor of natural sciences, lasted 2 days.

The court proved that the defendants had been notified of the decision of the Municipal District National Committee in Prague-1 to ban the public gathering, the so-called commemorative act, in Wenceslas Square on 15 January. In defiance of this decision, they went to the statue of St Wenceslas the following day and, by their conduct, brought about the gathering of a sizeable crowd and, thereby, a disturbance of public order and the prevention of normal traffic in the upper part of Wenceslas Square. Jana Petrova and Otakar Veverka, through offensive verbal pronouncements, attacked the intervening members of the Public Security Corps [VB]. A VB unit later had to take action to restore public order.

The court proceedings were complicated. The court's endeavor was to objectively ascertain the course of events and to verify whether the defendants had really been the initiators of the antisocial gathering. It therefore heard the defendants and 13 witnesses. The court reached the conclusion that the assembled evidence makes it possible to pass a just judgment.

The verdict was pronounced at about 2110.

Defendants Jana Petrova, Otakar Veverka, David Nemec, and Jana Sternova committed the criminal offense of hooliganism under Paragraph 202, Section 1 of the Penal Code. Moreover, Jana Petrova and Otakar Veverka were found guilty of the criminal offense of assaulting a public official under Paragraph 156, Section 2 of the Penal Code. Furthermore, the court noted that defendants Stanislav Penc, Petr Placak, and Alexandr Vondra, doctor of natural sciences, committed a minor offense [precin] against public order under Paragraph 6, letter "a" of law No. 150 of 1969. J. Petrova was sentenced to a cumulative punishment of 9 months' imprisonment in the first corrective-educational group; O. Veverka to 12 months' imprisonment in the second corrective-educational group (because in the last 10 years he had already been sentenced for a deliberate criminal offense); D. Nemec to 6 months' imprisonment, suspended for a 3-year probation period, and to a Kcs4,000 fine (in the case of his obstructing the execution of this punishment, he was sentenced to 1 month's imprisonment); and S. Penc, P. Placak, and A. Vondra, doctor of natural sciences, were each sentenced to 2 months' imprisonment, suspended for a 2-year probation period, and to a Kcs2,500 fine (in the case of their obstructing the execution of this punishment, they were sentenced to 1 month's imprisonment). J. Sternova was sentenced to 4 months' imprisonment, suspended for a 1-year probation period.

As was to be expected, Western information media showed great interest in the course of the court proceedings. Not all of them could be present in the courtroom, but various middlemen "selflessly" provided them with information.

The court dealt only with facts and it passed judgment on the basis of our laws. None of the defendants—except for Jana Petrova who appealed against the judgment—gave his opinion on the verdict. The prosecutor, too, appealed against the decision. The verdict has not yet acquired the force of law.

Dubcek Interviewed on Political Developments

PM2402164089 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
20 Feb 89 p 8

[Interview with former CPCZ First Secretary Alexander Dubcek by Jan Dobrovsky and Vladimir Mlynar in Bratislava "at the beginning of February"]

[Text] At the beginning of February we went to Bratislava to visit former CPCZ First Secretary Alexander Dubcek, whose name was chanted by those demanding freedom and democracy in the 21 August and 28 October 1988 demonstrations and has been shouted again in Prague's squares and streets in the 15-20 January demonstrations in the Czechoslovak capital. Here is the interviewee's opinion of the increasingly harsh political events in the country.

[Interviewer] In your opinion, what are the causes and political importance of the demonstrations following police intervention against those taking part in the solemn tribute to Jan Palach's memory?

[Dubcek] Not only those demonstrations but everything that has happened in our society recently demonstrates people's dissatisfaction with the 20-year-old policy of "normalization," which was imposed on us and has left no room for our country's democratic traditions. The entirety of these 20 years has been spent in an attempt to erase people's memories. Instead, it has become apparent that that which is preserved in people's awareness and memories cannot be eradicated or erased. There are experiences that are transmitted by heredity, so to speak, and the atmosphere of those moments in our life remains alive, despite the passing of time. The young people who demonstrated in Prague are the children of August 1968. The party and state leadership believes that it can continue governing undemocratically indefinitely. So the demonstrations are a direct result of the policy pursued by the CPCZ over the past 2 decades. It is entirely natural that it is now the new generation that is coming forward and demanding to speak; and its voice must be heeded—for the sake of not only the party but more generally the Czech and Slovak nations. Obviously I am talking about all the honest young people to whom the future belongs.

[Interviewer] During the Prague demonstrations many people were arrested; the forces of law and order resorted to violence against demonstrators and passersby; and the media have unleashed a campaign against the social initiative movements, accused of acting against socialism. What do you think of this?

[Dubcek] No violence can resolve any problem definitively: It can only serve to temporarily consolidate the position of whoever resorts to it. Socialism is threatened not by Radio Free Europe but by an erroneous policy that ignores society's needs and people's opinions. The party must relinquish, abandon the policy of repression, the ideology of the lamentable 1970 document, "Lessons

To Be Learned From The Crisis"... People are aware of the contradiction that exists between solemn words and concrete actions. It is logical therefore for this to lead to various pressures from the grassroots of society. Nonconformist attitudes and differing opinions must enjoy the democratic right to exist. The social initiative movements' influence is constantly growing: This is why their existence must be acknowledged—from Charter 77 through the various religious movements. When you have a government that does not observe the laws, the constitution, or the Helsinki accords, social initiative movements are not a curb on society's evolution but, on the contrary, a force necessary to its democratic development. The arrest of a large number of people including playwright Vaclav Havel runs contrary to common sense. I have heard that many have protested against such a way of behaving. The letter sent by Federal Government Chairman Ladislav Adamec and signed by many of our cultural figures has had a major impact. I am no artist but if I could meet with those who signed the letter I would willingly join them. Havel and the others must be released.

[Interviewer] What would you have done in 1968, as the top Communist Party leader, faced with the activity of independent political groups?

[Dubcek] I have frequently been criticized by certain comrades for having failed to act vigorously enough against Klub 231, for instance (which brought together former political prisoners tried and sentenced under article 231 of the Czechoslovak penal code "on the protection of the republic"—L'UNITA editor's note). However those organization did not only include people such as Rambousek or Ivan Svitak; on the contrary they included many honest and loyal citizens who sought within socialist society a place and a means to express themselves as non-Communists. They believed then—and I still believe today—that in time the chaff blows away and the wheat remains, that democratic procedures become established. In politics much thought and sensitivity is needed in assessing the positions not only of various groups of citizens but also of individuals. I remember the situation we experienced at the time of Jan Palach's funeral. We knew it would be attended by tens and tens of thousands of people; there were fears of possible provocations and explosions of rage. The police and people's militia were put on the alert. Then I said: Do nothing. Let the police and militia not appear on the streets. I telephoned President of the Republic Ludvik Svoboda and we agreed to lay a wreath at Jan Palach's tomb, as at a state funeral. Those decisions proved correct: The funeral took place in a peaceful and dignified manner.

[Interviewer] You just mentioned Jan Palach. How do you regard what he did now, 20 years on?

[Dubcek] Palach's self-immolation was a display of despair, an expression of absolute hopelessness, an act of protest against the events of those months. Those who provoked it really did not deserve the sacrifice of a young life. I believe that self-destruction cannot be a way of resolving things. I agree with Vaclav Havel's warning not to follow Palach's example.

[Interviewer] How much trust do you place in the words of current party and state leaders about democratization and the possibility of a "social dialogue"?

[Dubcek] What trust can I place in people such as Alois Indra or Viliam Salgovic, who were responsible for my arrest on the night of 21 August 1968? What trust can there be when it is precisely they who are talking about democratization and dialogue? Society now has 20 years of experience of their "normalization" and it is difficult to imagine that restructuring can be carried out with them still at the head of the top legislative bodies. It is not only Indra and Salgovic, however. What is essential and indispensable is a path to a new socialist and revolutionary rebirth within both the Communist Party and society.

People's Chamber Session Scheduled for 3 Mar
LD2402110989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1218 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the GDR People's Chamber today scheduled the convening of the eighth session of the People's Chamber for 3 March in Berlin.

Chaired by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the body dealt with the contribution by the supreme people's assembly to the preparation of the local elections on 7 May 1989. The People's Chamber deputies actively supports the national debate on the election appeal by the National Council of the National Front, the presentation and examination of candidates for the district assemblies, city assemblies, municipal borough assemblies, and parish assemblies, as well as a variety of local government activities for the further flourishing of towns and communities. They promote trusting cooperation with citizens and their ever more comprehensive inclusion in resolving state tasks.

The Presidium adopted the proposal on the agenda for the eighth session. It envisages, in accordance with a joint motion by the parliamentary groups, debating a draft law to supplement the law on elections to the GDR'S people's representative bodies—the electoral law. Changes in mandates are also to be debated.

Workers Collectives Scrutinize Candidates
AU2302121989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to the reports of the bezirk election offices on Thursday [16 February], the examination of the candidates in the workers collectives started on 8 February. So far, 34,746 candidates have been examined. It is becoming apparent that the working people are placing high demands on their candidate. For example, 56 candidates were not approved by their collectives, mainly because of a lack of work discipline, insufficient exemplariness, or social inactivity.

So far, the National Front's local and housing district committees have stated their points of view on the intended nomination of 62,652 candidates. In line with the right to codetermination, stringent criteria are also applied here. Objections have been raised to 268 candidates, especially because of insufficient work in the housing districts, poor work as deputies and, in individual cases, also because of violation of socialist laws and norms of social coexistence, and 102 new proposals have been submitted by collectives.

Candidates Nominated
AU2702164389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—According to an announcement made by the GDR Election Committee, prior to 15 February the responsible kreis assemblies, city assemblies, city district assemblies, and community assemblies had fixed the number of seats for those people's representations that are to be newly elected. Thus, on 7 May 1989, a total of 205,235 deputies may be elected. In concurrence with the dates that were fixed, 21,972 local election districts were established in the cities and communities. According to present reports by the local election offices, out of the 263,677 candidates, which were elected in 1984, 162,530, or 61.6 percent, have been renominated for this year's local elections. According to current reports, the majority of changes have taken place in the city kreise. About one-third of the candidates on the list for community assemblies have been nominated for the first time. The local and residential district committees of the National Front have so far viewed 160,749 proposals for the list of the National Front.

State Council's Gerlach Meets Japan's Takeshita
AU2702161389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25-26 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] Tokyo—On Friday [24 February], Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita received the heads of the foreign delegations in Tokyo who had attended the funeral ceremony for the late Emperor Hirohito on the same day. In this context, he also had friendly talks with Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council. The GDR official conveyed greetings from the chairman of the State Council, Erich Honecker, which were reciprocated by Nobory Takeshita. The two politicians expressed their esteem for the level of relations between the two countries and stressed that the further shaping of these relations served the interest of the two peoples and the securing of peace. Today, it was said, the political dialogue is an indispensable means for the continuation of the process of detente.

In the context of the meeting with the Japanese prime minister, Manfred Gerlach also had friendly talks with the representatives of numerous other states. Present at these talks were Kurt Nier, deputy foreign minister and Manfred Schmidt, GDR ambassador to Japan.

Tank Performance Competition With PPR, USSR
AU2702174389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25-26 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [24 February], a military performance comparison was concluded in the Soya Kosmodemyanskaya Regiment. Members of the Heinz-Hoffmann Division, as well as Soviet and Polish soldiers of the partner units competed on the driving school track to see who were the best drivers of tanks and armored personnel carriers. In addition, the comrades-in-arms competed to see who were the most skilled recovery specialists. Before that, the guests familiarized themselves with the life and combat of Heinz-Hoffmann, the revolutionary model for these tank soldiers, in the room dedicated to him at the division.

Transportation Protocols Signed With USSR, PPR

AU2302134989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The 1989 Conference for Securing Foreign Trade Transports between the GDR and the USSR on cross-border railroad lines via the PPR and on the Mukran-Klaipeda ferry line was concluded in Pskov on Thursday [16 February]. The deliberations focused on coordinating the volume of foreign trade transportation between the three countries involved. Questions of effectively using the four ships on the joint ferry line were especially discussed with the Soviet side. It was estimated that this new traffic line will considerably contribute to handling the transport of goods between the two countries without holdups.

During the signing of the 1989 transportation protocols, it was unanimously affirmed that the commitments of the transportation employees of the three countries to handling foreign trade transports will be met with high quality. Representatives from the GDR, USSR, and PPR transportation systems and foreign trade participated in the deliberations. The GDR delegation was headed by Deputy Transportation Minister Heinz Gerber.

Citizens Injure Guard at FRG Mission in Berlin

AU2302143189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On 16 February 1989 two GDR citizens in a car forcefully entered the courtyard of the FRG Permanent Mission in the GDR. They deliberately ran down a member of the German People's Police whose duty was to protect and secure the FRG Permanent Mission. The policeman was seriously injured. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is dealing with the affair.

Public Prosecutor Drops Bugging Investigation

AU2702160789 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Feb 89 pp 13-14

[Unattributed report: "Legal Bugs"]

[Text] The Office of the GDR General Prosecuting Attorney is unable to find out who perpetrated the attempts to bug dissident East Berlin priest Rainer Eppelmann. On 14 February Prosecuting Attorney Glessner told the leadership of the Berlin-Brandenburg Evangelical Church that intensive investigations had not revealed any conclusive results and indications of potential perpetrators. One fingerprint was found when the three bugs that had been discovered were studied but, according to Glessner, this fingerprint is not registered in the files. The Office of the General Prosecuting Attorney is dropping the investigation because the bugging of private people is not punishable in the GDR. Only the obligation to obtain a permit according to the postal and telecommunications law has been violated, and trespass has been committed. Church leaders are not considering an appeal to the justice minister in order to have this legal loophole closed. Eppelmann ordered East Berlin lawyer Gregor Gysi to complain about the dropping of the investigations. The case is of exemplary significance for the church: In the meantime, church workers and dignitaries all over the republic have spoken up who have been subjected to similar bugging—not by unknown persons, however, but clearly by the Ministry of State Security.

Bishop Deplores Lack of Communication With State

AU2202161489 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 22 Feb 89 p 1

[Werner Kahl report: "Silence Between the Church and State"]

[Text] Bonn—Currently, there is no basis for dialogue between the church in the GDR and the East Berlin government. This was stated by the bishop of the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg, Gottfried Forck, during a religious gathering in Bonn-Bad Godesberg. "At present, nothing is going on, the state does not conduct a dialogue with us," Forck pointed out, and spoke in favor of "living and staying in the GDR" in a speech to numerous church members and resettlers from the GDR.

The church leadership interprets the rejection of talks as an expression of the unstable domestic-policy course of the SED leadership. The SED has long been avoiding discussing education-related problems with the church. The church has been making efforts in this respect for 12 years because "we need a discussion about education," Forck stated. In connection with the installation of hidden microphones by the State Security Service, such as in the case of pastor Eppelmann, which transmit messages within a radius of 1.5 km, and the secret opening of letters addressed to the bishop, Forck quoted various passages from the Bible.

The problems "that can only be resolved in direct talks between the GDR and FRG Governments" includes the issue of the continuing wave of emigration, Bishop Forck stressed. The new travel regulations are not "final ones." According to the church, "dissatisfaction with the workplace" is becoming increasingly important in connection with the people's desire to leave the GDR.

Regarding future talks between Bonn and East Berlin, Forck stated that there might be a possibility "of allowing GDR citizens to work in the FRG for a limited period." A similar regulation has been agreed upon with Poland. It is possible for the Poles to "acquire something in material terms" and to return to their country subsequently. Another proposal suggests exchanging a certain amount of East German currency at a 1:1 ratio every year for visitors from the GDR.

During the traditional "fireside chats" at the Marienforst Church in Bad Godesberg, Forck hinted that he will not stop persuading people "to stay in the GDR." He criticized physicians in particular who are comparing their working conditions and medical equipment with that of their Western colleagues. "Why do they not compare their conditions with those that prevail in developing countries?" Forck asked.

He wanted to make it "clear" that "nobody is really suffering hardships in the GDR." What is important is to "steadily improve socialism as it exists now." For this reason, the church "requests and recommends" to GDR citizens "that as many of them as possible stay in the country." However, he only succeeded in "persuading" one percent last year, Forck admitted. Only 3 out of 260 exit visa seekers abandoned their plans to leave the country.

Dresden Destruction Anniversary Commemorated

AU1502105289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Excerpt] Dresden (ND/ADN)—On the 44th anniversary of the destruction of their city, 100,000 Dresden people from all classes and sections stated that they will do everything in their power to ensure that war will forever be banned from the life of mankind.

In the historic center, in front of Bruehl Terrace and St. George's Gate, they honored the 35,000 people who were killed at the time, and confirmed their willingness to strengthen socialism by performing excellent work on the job, to improve the people's well-being, and to make peace more and more secure. In a statement, the participants—including Hans Modrow, first secretary of the SED bezirk leadership—welcomed the recent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the GDR, the CSSR, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The statement says that Dresden is today a city of peaceful work and of meetings conducive to international understanding, a city whose fate is a reminder and an obligation. The statement of intent says that "we support the National Front's election appeal, because it corroborates every citizen's right to support peace with all his might." It adds that the socialist GDR acts in accordance with its historic responsibility and fulfills its humanist mission to do everything so that war will never again start from German soil, but only peace.

Professor Guenther Drefahl, president of the GDR Peace Council, said in his address: "Like Coventry, Hiroshima, and Volgograd, Dresden is the victim of imperialist policy and is a reminder today that war and force must be banned forever. Preventing an inferno, has become the fatal issue of all human civilization." He said that the worldwide recognition of the coalition of common sense and realism has become an essential factor of international politics, and the socialist countries' peace and disarmament program is an essential contribution in this respect. He added that the GDR supports this process by its independent, constructive policy of dialogue. "Dresden, which has been resurrected from the ruins, is today a respected place of arts and culture, science and high technology. Its citizens make their relevant contribution by their daily work, with diligence and creativity," Drefahl said, adding that like everybody in the GDR, they back the decision to reduce the Soviet Armed Forces in the GDR, to cut back the forces and arms of the National People's Army, and to reduce defense expenditures. "Everybody can test our true desire for peace and disarmament by our deeds," the president of the GDR Peace Council stressed. [passage omitted]

Nemeth Proposes Agricultural Reform at Debate

LD2502094989 Budapest MTI in English 1852 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—On Friday in Budapest, the debate on the first day of the special conference of Hungarian agricultural cooperatives was addressed by Miklos Nemeth, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The prime minister stressed that both the HSWP and the government have reached the conclusion that renewal of the agrarian policy is pressing, in harmony with the general reform process.

"In the course of the past decades, the pillars—cooperatives and large-scale state farms, the household, small and private farms, and multi-sector food processing—have been established in Hungary which form a suitable basis for renewal", Mr Nemeth said.

"When thinking about reform in Hungary, we come up against the issue of property relations and property forms in almost all areas. It is an almost unanimous opinion that the genuine proprietor, the true owner, is not personified in our society. The genuine proprietory interestedness and conduct is thus missing, and realistically-attainable results lacking. It is clear by now that there can be no progess in the agrarian sphere without property reform. The views and proposals for a solution are extreme, ranging from the approach 'everything is fine as it is' to the demand for a new distribution of land? Whose land would they distribute, and whom would they give it to? Land should not be distributed, but profitably cultivated. At one time, our slogan was, the land belongs to those who cultivate it. Our new slogan should be, let the land belong to those who can cultivate it more successfully. Competition, mobility, entrepreneurial freedom and opportunity are needed, rather than a rigid proprietory structure. This can only be promoted by a new land policy, which relies on economic regularities rather than on ideological dogmas. And economic regularities demand that a flexible balance based on realities should come about between market relations and the acceptance of a role by the state", Mr Nemeth stressed.

The prime minister termed the development of the company structure of agriculture and the food industry as a "unanimously strategic issue".

"But it does not follow from this that we should decide, on some sort of principle or out of political consideration, the role of the state, cooperative or private property in a market economy of mixed ownership, or what the proportion of the large-scale farms, small units or partner ventures should be. The current multi-sector agriculture, rich in forms, provides a good basis and opportunity for the enterpreneurial organizations that flexibly adapt to the market. Politics or governmental power does not wish to intervene from above into the affairs of the units. We shall not uphold the large-scale units with force, but we also do not think that only the small- and medium-sized units are welcome. We shall not exert pressure in either direction. We wish to promote adaptation to market relations", Mr Nemeth said, concluding his contribution to the conference of agricultural cooperatives.

Fejti Interviewed on Multiparty System

LD2002104289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Interview with Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by unidentified correspondent, on "The Week" program, in the studio; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] With whom about what, and on what basis is the MSZMP willing to negotiate?

[Fejti] Well, if you will allow me, I would like to say in advance that a decision of very great importance, in essence signifying a political turnabout, lies behind us. And, it would be a pity to deny that this decision was born amid very lively and sharp debates. All the same, I would consider it bad if anyone were to consider the decision itself, or the debate, to be a sign of weakness, or some kind of capitulation. Furthermore, it is a question of this party—whose program, mentality, and perception are under renewal—seeing that the moment has arrived for it to operate in a competitive situation, that is in essence, campaigning daily for people's confidence.

With whom and about what do we have to negotiate? I think that talks can be conducted with all organizations that stand on the foundation of constitutionality, that respect the law, that have a platform, that have made clear whom they represent and what they want. This is an indispensable condition for constructive negotiations.

However, I think that the MSZMP can and wishes to develop lasting cooperation only with those organizations that accept the social path of socialist development, and that accept Hungary's international commitment, its federational commitment, while cooperating with us for the mutual cessation, as soon as possible, of the military blocs.

[Question] Let us stop for a moment. You mentioned that the MSZMP is ready to talk with all parties and with nascent parties which have a developed program and structure, where it can be assumed that those sitting on the other side of the negotiation table represent people and have a mandate to do so. Who will decide and in what way whether one or another party is ready for these negotiaions? The MSZMP?

[Fejti] We envisage the talks being conducted in two phases. The first phase would be the preparations. These in essence could be started in the coming days and weeks. And these talks would start without any preconditions. So, in essence, these would serve to create confidence, to become familiar with each other's mutual intentions. Here, their aim could be to resolve the questions of content, technical questions, and the agenda of a subsequent, specific, and multilateral series of talks.

[Question] So it would be more than just familiarization?

[Fejti] It would be more than familiarization, and at the same time the possibility would open up for those organizations that wish to cooperate with us, to define themselves. I think, by the way, that it is not a maximum program, or a maximalist program that one wants to know who is sitting on the other side of the table.

[Question] If there were no Central Committee session tomorrow, at which you are to be one of the speakers, but rather, if you were to sit down at the negotiating table in the morning, in your view how many political parties or groupings exist that meet the criteria of the first phase, according to the MSZMP, the MSZMP leadership?

[Fejti] This will not only depend on us. We, in essence, are seeking out a very significant political formation with our request; naturally, it depends on them whether they accept it, whether anyone can offer anything better. I might add that we are endeavoring to keep the topic of the negotiations as open as possible, since we are of the view that the preparatory bilateral discussions will facilitate the determination of the specific issues.

Nevertheless, there are three issues of great importance that we recommend for joint consideration: the contents, the techniques, and the method of implementation of the elections ahead of us.

[Question] And the date as well?

[Fejti] The date as well, because the elections will be an important turning point in the joint shaping of the methods of exercising power. However, what I consider to be at least as important is that we should exchange opinions in connection with the stabilization of the economy and with the social policy program to be built into this.

If we successfully bring together the smallest common denominator in this regard, this could also constitute the platform for election cooperation. In conclusion, constitutionality must be recognized as an important strategic issue, and a path will open for the coordination of opinions. I might also say that according to our plans, the result of the second phase of the negotiations could be that a stable forum for consultation is established, some kind of regularly operating roundtable discussion which could serve as the framework for a compromise or for a consensus, and could possibly lead to cooperation of a coalition character, as well.

[Question] A kind of impatience can be sensed in society, among certain groups and strata of society, for whom the schedule you have now outlined appears to be too slow. It appears from the standpoints of the MSZMP up to now that ensuring the constitutional forms and legal frameworks which lead to a multiparty system can happen within the current system of institutions. A good number of alternative organizations say that it must be done in reverse: First, the system of institutions must be changed, there should be another kind of legislature, other kinds of legal frameworks; and the multiparty system must then be based on this. Is there a basis for compromise here?

[Fejti] Perhaps there is a need for compromise, but there are certain basic issues that perhaps cannot constitute the subject of compromise. For example, it must be taken into account that outside our borders, Hungarian events are being watched with goodwill both from the East and the West.

It is unequivocally suggested that we should follow a calm, balanced, and predictable political schedule. The danger of a possible political destabilization worries them greatly. This is also obviously so primarily because this could entail an economic collapse. And they would not like it, and nor would we, nor would any person in his right mind in this country like it if Hungary were seen as a sick or weak link in Europe. Thus, an irrationally rapid pace would not be expedient.

Another basic thesis is parliament. This parliament came to be in 1985 with very modern and forward-pointing electoral techniques, compared with the circumstances of the time. I believe that this parliament, taking into account the changes that have occurred in its work since then, has all kinds of legal bases for constitutionality and it makes provisions—it is the embodiment of people's sovereignty.

There are some who say that this parliament is not articulate enough politically. I dispute that. Those who watch television can be convinced that in essence, representatives of every important political group are present in parliament. Either they undertake to represent a political group or not to do so. But in point of fact they are present.

[Question] And do you feel that the current majority relations in parliament reflect the majority relations in society?

[Fejti] This cannot be decided by imagining. This will be decided in the course of a later election. It will be decided in the course of a later election, if there can be talk of a contest between platforms. The announcement of elections would be very complicated because—no viewer should take this as a conceited statement—there is no program beyond the MSZMP's program. There is no force which is able to govern, there is no real election possibility, there is no alternative political, and mainly, economic program. And it would not be expedient at all to set off on elections where the subject of the elections is the acceptance of or rejection of one program. This is unpredictable.

[Question] Can I say that the MSZMP will neither curb nor impede the process, no matter how fast it is? It will result in the formation and delineation of various alternative programs.

[Fejti] Look, it also depends on the partners. I think that our endeavor should be for us to find a joint principle, for us to remove the mistrust. But mutual constructiveness and a mutual sense of responsibility is necessary for this. So it does not depend solely on our intentions.

I now believe that there is a will for cooperation, but there are also considerable forces which, although verbally calling for cooperation, pursue a somewhat confrontational policy. And if we are compelled to do so, we will confront them. We would not like to leave this in doubt since a political contest situation includes not only cooperation, but also, what is necessary—confrontation [word indistinct].

Lukacs Addresses Party Conference in Miskolc

AU2302212189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Feb 89 p 3

[Report by correspondent Zsigmond Igriczi: "We Report From Party Conferences—Sharing Power Requires Political Responsibility and Time—Janos Lukacs at the Miskolc Party Conference"]

[Excerpts] A town party conference was held in Miskolc on 18 February with the participation of 317 delegates representing more than 23,000 Communists and of 50 invited people. Also present at the conference was MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Janos Lukacs, who took the floor. [passage omitted]

Greeting the party conference, Janos Lukacs said the following:

"I consider two tasks extremely important. One is to restore the party's action capability and unity, to strengthen coordination within the party, and to develop a democratic and open party life. The second task is to be a lively movement and influence the social, economic, and political tasks and the people."

Janos Lukacs then pointed out that the party should be present in residential districts as well as in factories and institutions, and said the following:

"We should always deal with ourselves only as much to make our organization more suitable to carry out its tasks. In a debate aimed at establishing long and harmonious unity, the Central Committee came to the conclusion on 10 and 11 February that political pluralism should emerge in the framework of a multiparty system. Some party members had earlier proposed this solution. I regard it extremely important for the rest of the party members to interpret this position as a possible new form of socialist development, and not as a political failure. As for future social development, the type of transition, the real political interests that can lead to the emergence of parties, and the political-social basis of these parties will greatly depend on the MSZMP ability to renew its policy and successfully implement its goals."

Janos Lukacs then spoke about political responsibility, self-moderation, and the preparation time required for the reorganization of our political system and for sharing power in a predictable framework. This transition period will be a real political struggle, a political struggle that has already begun. Our position in this period of transition is the socialist road of social development, maintaining the people's power, and public property over a decisive part of the means of production.

"We are initiating negotiations with various political organizations"—Janos Lukacs continued—"to jointly avoid a deepening crisis and to preserve our social and political stability. There are also other tasks in continuing our political reform. We have to come to an agreement in the evaluation of the past 4 decades and we should clarify which things we accept and regard as values, and which things we want to distance ourselves from. We need a debate on this issue. It is impossible to solve problems about the evaluation of the past by making simplified statements. We should analyze the past in order to draw lessons from it and make fewer mistakes in the future."

Janos Lukacs then spoke about the future tasks of the Central Committee: "It is not our program to increase prices and cause unemployment and poverty in this country. Our program is social progress, a healthy development of our society, and the people's financial and intellectual prosperity. However, as a responsible party, we should openly tell the people what the road leading to this is and what price we have to pay"—Janos Lukacs said, concluding his address. [passage omitted]

Horn Comments on UN Human Rights Activity

LD2602202289 Budapest MTI in English 1856 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 26 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has left for Geneva to speak at the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations Organization.

In a statement given to "The Week", a Sunday evening programme of Hungarian television, prior to his departure, he said, "In Geneva, we shall press for more effective moves to be taken by the UNO and other international organizations towards the enforcement of human rights. We shall also propose that the UNO should sanction countries that violate human rights."

Speaking about the sovereignty of Hungarian foreign policy, Mr Horn pointed out that the Hungarian decisions had not been influenced by affiliation to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty concerning the intensity of economic relations developed with the European Economic Community and the particular Western countries. He said, "This was why the opinion could be formed in the West during the past 5-6 years that Hungary acts as a mediator or bridge in East-West relations and in the relationship of Malta and the Warsaw Treaty."

Hungary's joining the Common Market was considered by Mr Horn as a totally unrealistic question for the present, and not because—as he put it—it would be obstructed by any alliance commitment, but mainly because of the multitude of economic problems faced by Hungary today.

Horn Speaks at UN

LD2702152689 Budapest MTI in English 1359 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva, February 27 (MTI)—'A deep conviction of the Hungarian People's Republic is that the observance and protection of human rights is today part and parcel of international security,' said Gyula Horn, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in his contribution to the Geneva session of the UN Commission on Human Rights on Monday.

'In the irreversible and far-reaching democratic renewal process Hungarian society is undergoing and during the creation of a constitutional state, it is a national priority to protect and guarantee human rights,' Mr Horn said.

Mr Horn feels that making the Geneva Convention on Human Rights universal is one of the most important tasks for the future. He points out that Hungary recognizes the authority of the Commission on Human Rights in compliance with Section 41 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and signed its facultative protocol.

For the sake of the word-for-word fulfilment of Hungary's obligations, he calls for an overall and efficient application of the existing international control mechanism. The Hungarian People's Republic would also support it by recognizing the authority of all UN human rights organizations to have the last word in complaints, be they claims by member states or individuals. In addition to the current international control mechanism, Mr Horn proposes new forms of supervision. He recommends that field monitoring and fact-finding groups be set up to decide and investigate in cases of human rights abuse.

He said that the Hungarian people and the government feel agrieved by all human rights violations, no matter in which corner of the world they occur.

'We maintain that it is a right and also a duty of the Hungarian Government to object against infringements on basic human rights, including those on minority rights, especially when they are committed by a neighbouring country. We are convinced that guaranteeing human rights is independent of any affiliation to alliance systems or social orders. The serious violation upon human and freedom rights by Romania is a cause of deep concern to us—and apparently to other countries as well. We would like to express our worries not only at the UN and other international forums, but also convey them directly to the Romanian side. However, our initiative for cooperation and proposal for laying down safeguards for human and minority rights have so far remained ineffectual.'

'The international public knows very well that not only the civil and political rights of individuals and minorities are violated in Romania, but also their social, economic and cultural rights. We consider the demolishing of villages, the destruction of cultural and historical values, the conscious suppression of the language of the national minorities, and the forced assimilation or restriction of freedom of religion as infringements on human rights.'

Mr Horn said the Swedish initiative to appoint a special commissioner for investigating the violation of human rights in Romania would get Hungry's full support. In this spirit, Hungary is prepared to become co-author to this initiative.

The Hungarian state secretary of foreign affairs proposed to extend the ban on discrimination to new fields, and urged more detailed interanational regulations for the protection and enforcement of the individual and collective rights of national minorities. Mr Horn reconfirmed that Hungary was partcularly interested in the fate of national minorities, since the largest national minority of Europe is the Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries. This also justifies the necessity of recognizing that the rights of national minorities, should they be individual or collective rights, form an integral part of universal human rights. The state secretary proposed to elaborate a U.N. programme of action defining the rights and obligations and creating the conditions so that governments guarantee really equal rights for the national minorities.

Mr Horn suggested that, under the U.N. programme of action, the Commission on Human Rights should appoint a special commissioner for investigating the violations of the rights of ethnic, religious and language minorities.

Szuros, Pozsgay, Nyers Nominated as Speaker

LD2702204889 Budapest MTI in English 1608 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—'The HSWP Political Committee has recommended Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament, for the post of speaker of Parliament,' Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, announced on Monday at the session of the independent MP's group held in Parliament.

The names of state ministers Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers, both members of the Political Committee, were also mentioned during the consultation of the HSWP Political Committee, which was insistent that the National Assembly be chaired by someone with a nationwide reputation and recognition, and prestige in political life. Mr Fejti said the new rules of Parliament require an appointing committee to be put in charge of electing the speaker. This duty will fall to the Patriotic People's Front.

The group of independent MP's also wanted to know the position of the HSWP Central Committee on the outline of the Constitution. In his answer, Mr Fejti underlined that the HSWP attributed primary importance to a life free of anxieties, a fundamental characteristic of democrats. The desirable thing would be for the reform of the Constitution to bring about a national consensus, all the more so since the HSWP is striving for the gradual destruction of the monolithic power structure. He noted that the role of the Army as defined by political law should also be made clear. The party's direct control over the Army had been lifted, albeit 75 per cent of the officers were Communists.

Correction to Marosan 22 Feb News Conference

WA2802143289

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Marosan, Kulscar Give 22 Feb News Conference," published in the 23 February East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 22, column one:

Paragraph one, line two should read: ...head of government [Miklos Nemeth] gave an account... changing editorial notation to read "Miklos Nemeth" rather than "Karoly Nemeth."

Urban Issues Statement on Student Demonstrations

LD2702200389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Recorded statement by Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban; date, place not given]

[Text] Last week some of the students, mainly from the Jagiellonian University, organized a series of street demonstrations in Krakow. They were held under the banners of the NZS [Independent Students Union], Solidarity, and the KPN [Federation of Independent Poland]. The public has been informed of the demonstrations by television and press. In connection with these events, I would like to state the following on behalf of the Polish Government:

1) In Krakow a group of students committed an outrageous anti-Soviet provocation. A monument of gratitude put up by Polish society to the Soviet soldiers who liberated Poland and Krakow, thereby protecting it from destruction, was desecrated. Of these soldiers 600,000 died so that Poland could be Poland and the students today could be born and speak and think in Polish and live and study. The Soviet Army was publicly ridiculed; Lenin and the Soviet flag were mocked, as well as other symbols which are dear to the Soviet people.

What would the reactions of the Polish students be if Polish national symbols were publicly insulted in the Soviet Union? A portrait of Mikhail Gorbachev, altered to resemble a shooting target, was carried around the streets. This expressed in a criminal way hatred for the Soviet leader, who is respected by the entire world. I see this as a demonstration of extreme political stupidity. After all, the Polish young lovers of democracy and pluralism insulted the creator of the Soviet restructuring and glasnost, the direction of which favors the transformations in Poland which make it easier for us to move in the direction of democracy and pluralism.

Therefore, we saw an abuse of freedoms and tolerance for the sake of actions which are politically harmful and we saw as morally repulsive ingratitude.

2) The militia was pelted with stones, and members of the forces of law and order performing their duty were injured.

State and public property was destroyed, including cars. A member of the Polish Government was insulted by being deprived of personal freedom for a time. Vandalism, anarchism, and violence occurred. Such behavior indicates the discrediting of pluralism and civic freedoms.

Did the organizers of these demonstrations want to prove that Poland had not matured to democracy and that the future intellectual elite of the nation uses it to compromise the democratic order and for destructive actions in relation to their state?

3) The authorities of the Jagiellonian University, in the face of events, have taken a stance which is too tolerant and ambivalent. The statement of the vice rector to students broadcast by the television said: Enoy yourself in a way so that I will be left in peace. And the contents of the resolution of the senate are proof of that. The government is striving to increase the autonomy of higher education bodies and their authorities.

However the situation is and will be that the elected authorities of higher education establishments will take over the responsibility for orders at colleges and in their neighborhood and assume responsibility for the nature of public student demonstrations. Autonomy cannot lead to anarchy. The extending of rights thus entails an increase in responsiblity.

4) We approach very seriously the events in Krakow, as well as the incident in Warsaw when the facades of public buildings were defaced by throwing paint at them. The Krakow brawls, anti-Soviet provocations, the injuring of militiamen, acts of morally degraded ingratitude toward the fallen, anti-Gorbachev sentiments, and the abuse of a government representative—all this happened during the roundtable deliberations. These acts are aimed against the validity of the roundtable and against the accord which society expects, for they show that freedom and democracy—which we are developing—is being abused already at the outset to the detriment of the fundamental internal and external interests of the country.

The compromising of freedoms and reforms is only in the interest of the enemies of these things.

5) The government calls on all ithe participants of the roundtable to condemn the Krakow events, which were organized by extreme elements; and it particularly calls on them to disassociate themselves from the anti-Soviet provocations. The same is expected from the authorities of Jagiellonian University and other academic communities.

The government announced that the forces of law and order will react with greater resolve than hitherto to illegal demonstrations which affect the vital interests of Poland. The government informs that the possible legalizaiton of the NZS—for which there are prospects—depends on the organizers of the union clearly stating their attitude toward the Krakow events and on the immediate end to the political provocations and excesses under the banner of the NZS. Thank you for your attention.

Minister on 'Threatening' Student Protests

LD2702192789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] The education minister today sent a letter to the rector of Krakow University. Here are extracts: The street demonstrations by students are taking on a threatening and provocative character; the degree of aggression is growing. At any moment it is possible that the threshold will be crossed and events will continue along an uncontrolled course. Who will take responsibility for this? The legal norms in force allow the university authorities and students to express their opinions in an open and unhindered way, but in forms less drastic than practiced in Krakow.

Students Stage 22 Feb Protest at Krakow Monument

AU2702172589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Feb 89 p 2

[Report signed "ges": "Disrupting Public Order Is a Denial of Democracy"]

[Text] On 21 February young people staged another demonstration in Krakow at the monument to Adam Mickiewicz on the city's main square. The demonstration, which was organized by the Confederation for an Independent Poland and took place in the afternoon, was attended by several hundred people who carried banners bearing slogans such as "Down with the commies," "Solidarity," and "Soviets go home." After holding a brief rally, they proceeded to march through the streets of the city.

Most of the participants were students who, displaying a flagrant disregard for discipline and their professors, simply failed to attend their classes. They disrupted traffic by blocking off certain streets and forcing road users to seek out other routes.

Security forces prevented further premeditated actions aimed at disrupting order in the city from being carried out by using megaphones to call on the demonstrators to disperse. The most aggressive demonstrators were asked to present their identification papers.

TRYBUNA LUDU's reporter asked Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Lipniak, commander in chief of the Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia, to comment on the events in light of rumors that security forces had used force.

A. Lipniak said: "It is high time that all young people understood—and no one is stopping them from presenting their own views, even extreme ones, in a civilized way that conforms with the law—that no society can accept the violation of fundamental legal norms. These are no longer just student pranks; it is antisocial behavior that no slogan, program, or protest can justify."

He continued: "We are here so that every citizen can be sure that when order is disrupted, we will protect him. We, for our part, were adamant about not using force or direct coercion, which is something that anyone watching the demonstration could see with his own eyes. Our intervention was limited to the most important, busiest roads that were blocked off, and to checking identification papers. It turns out that, in addition to college students, there were high school students among the 23 people whose papers were checked."

Krakow University Students Stage Protest 27 Feb

LD2802005589 Warsaw PAP in English 2343 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Krakow, Feb 27—Upsetting reports from Krakow speak of student demonstrations continued there for many days under the aegis of NZS [Independent Association of University Students] but also Solidarity, KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland], WIP [pacifist organization "Freedom and Peace"], and others. These actions, originally taking place at rallies in the main Rynek Glowny Square, turned into street gatherings demanding legalisation of the NZS and presenting the most extreme standpoints aiming even against Polands alliances and the constructive course of the roundtable negotiations.

Leaflets distributed in Krakow invited to a protest rally February 27 in front of the Jagiellonian University's Collegium novum building. A group of several hundred students gathered in front of the University at 2 p.m. today. They put up slogans reading "Solidarity-Students" and "Students WIP Action". One could feel a tense atmosphere. The aim of the rally is to proclaim a previously announced 48-hour sit-in strike in the university as a protest against the action by the law enforcement forces. Representatives of NZS, Solidarity of the Malopolska region, and KPN made speeches.

The speakers called for the proclamation of a sit-in at the collegium novum. There were also voices against the strike. At the same time the Jagiellonian University senate held extraordinary meeting. Current reports from the meeting indicate, among other things, that the strike may result in resignation of the senate and other authorities of the university. The gathering goes on with the heated argument for the stike and against it.

The situation climaxed when rector of the university, Professor Aleksander Koj spoke. He said that the university authorities understand the problems of the students and try to solve them together. We expect of students not only courage but prudence too, he said. The students gave up the sit-in strike but announced a 2-day stay-home strike.

The law enforcement forces stayed away. The youth went home.

Walesa Addresses Wroclaw Students on Roundtable

LD2702191189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Aleksandra Adamkowiakowska report]

[Text] A meeting with Lech Walesa started in Balcer Hall at Wroclaw University at exactly 1400 [1300 GMT]:

[Begin Walesa recording] I have come to see you here to get above all, wisdom and strength. Either we will give and receive this wisdom and strength from each other, or we will say that Lech Walesa's representation of what we are doing is not representation, and I will agree with it. I know, young friends, that you are right. Your existence in today's Poland is very difficult. You have no chance to get apartments, and you do not have many other opportunities. This is all true.

But we have all inherited Poland from the previous generations, and we must also leave it as an inheritance to the coming generations. If at this moment we start fighting each other—of course, it is possible and even very probable—this will postpone our solutions even further. The difference between myself and between what I represent and the young people is only in whether the roundtable will create such an opportunity or whether stones thrown in the streets will create such an opportunity.

We only have 3 weeks left. For this reason I ask you here, both students in Warsaw and elsewhere: We have 3 weeks left. Let us give a chance to some solutions. If not, you have my assurance that in April and May, after reaching an agreement with all of you, I will give a signal to start a determined fight for Poland and Polish reforms.

But when there is a chance, when there is hope, one should save as much as possible the Polish fiber, maximally save the Polish economy, for all of this is ours. Even if we tear up the paving stones, then tomorrow in our Poland this paving must be patched up nonetheless. If we destroy anything, we will have to rebuild it again in any case. I do not want to claim that the roundtable will solve these problems; I am not naive. But when there is such an opportunity, it should be used.

For this reason, I appeal again to you young people here, and young people in Warsaw and in Krakow: Let us give a chance to resolving the problems in a civilized manner at the table. Let us not be provoked. I want to talk to you, ladies and gentlemen, on all subjects. [end recording]

Urban, Onyszkiewicz Comment on Roundtable Talks

LD2702225889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1902 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Statements by government spokesman Jerzy Urban and Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman for the opposition-Solidarity side at the roundtable given 27 February; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Urban] I know that the public is becoming very impatient with the course of the roundtable deliberations. The prevalent opinion is that they are talking and talking, but in the end, what have they concretely established and what are we, ordinary people, getting out of it? Well, firstly, I would like to say that this requires a bit of patience, because the introductory stage of the roundtable was devoted to various declarations, in essence addressed to one's own political base, to the public. Finally, persons who for many years had not had the means of expressing their opinions publicly through our mass media, sat down at this table here and took advantage of this opportunity.

What stage is the roundtable at now? In my opinion, this may be assessed optimistically. It is true that the roundtable has divided up into very many teams, working groups, and so on and so forth, where numerous detailed issues are considered: here, environmental protection; there access to the mass media; here, judicial; there mining, agricultural affairs, and so on. We should not expect that we will reach agreement and come to common conclusions on all detailed matters, and during discussions, there become more and more of them. That is not the roundtable's task at all. I think that these discussions will still continue for a long time after, and that when a new parliament is created with the participation of the opposition, these matters will be transferred to normal parliamentary bodies, where they will have to be solved. However, we are moving toward agreement on fundamental issues. What are these fundamental issues? Firstly, the issue of elections, unconfrontational elections. Here, the discussion is already concerned with how to bring this about and not with the principle itself.

It is very important that there is mutual agreement for such elections. In a historical sense, such an agreement would mean an end to a certain phase of conflict and an undertaking of the phase of normal, negotiable coexistence within the parliament and other normal organs where political life should take place. Here it is important that an agreement has emerged on the general principle.

Secondly, the issue of pluralism of political and trade union life. In that area there is also an agreement on the general principle, and details on how and when to introduce it and on what it is to depend are being discussed. In other words, the talk is on how, the issue is no longer a major argument.

The new structure of the organs of power: Here it is also known that they need to be changed, and debate is in progress on how. Finally, today I think there appeared some agreement in the team which initially seemed most likely to reach agreement and then later appeared the most difficult—namely in the socioeconomic team. As far as the directions are concerned, both sides are speaking in a similar language; they are envisaging the reforms in a similar way. There are many arguments regarding various concrete matters of the economic policy, but the work has started on the social agreement, which will be the fruit of this team's deliberations, and many matters remain to be agreed upon. I think that many of them will be subject to argument forever, but anyway, this working phase has already started.

Therefore, there is no general argument anywhere of the kind which would tear the roundtable apart. Everywhere there are concrete matters to be agreed on, and the principal agreement on these most essential issues is appearing. I think that it will be necessary to treat these principal matters separately and leave various detailed questions for later and aim for the agreement to the extent to which it is possible now, so that we can move over to the new phase of the public life in Poland—post roundtable.

This is how I see the situation, although people often find it difficult to see what is emerging from all this talking, because of the excessive amount of information available. I believe that a conclusion is arising from it, that an agreement on some main issues is very close.

[Onyszkiewicz] Solidarity and independent and opposition milieux centered around it have come to the roundtable deliberations with their own vision of the state. It would not be a state of one party and one ideology, but a state of all citizens, irrespective of their political views, religions, and nationalities. This vision is of a state which would fulfill our aspirations for independence, sovereignty, and freedom, including economic freedom, and for an economic order which would ensure affluence, as well as the sense of security.

This great general vision we have translated into a whole set of specific issues requiring fast solutions. One must say that on many important issues very convergent opinions have been reached, and notable progress has been made. Thus, above all there is an agreement on the legalization of Solidarity. The legalization will respect our identity, respect our structure, and will give us full freedom to form our own organizational matters, statutes, and so on.

We have also obtained an assurance that a legal framework will be created, making possible the legalization of the Trade Union of Individual Farmers, Solidarity.

Agreement has also been reached on issues that could be described as constructing foundations of democracy, such as an agreement to depart from the state's administration of parishes and cities. This role is to be taken over by democratically elected self-governments.

Another change agreed on is that judges cannot be removed and that they should be independent.

In the mass media sphere, some progress has also been achieved: a considerable limiting of censorship, with a possibility for eliminating it soon; a change in the press law; a change in the distribution of paper, with newspapers for Solidarity and the opposition, including a high circulation daily.

As far as the issue of employee self-management is concerned, the restrictions that were introduced after 1981 have been withdrawn.

This long, although incomplete, list of decisions made so far should not, however, obscure the fact that on many issues a serious difference of opinion still exists. This concerns, above all, the economy. Thus, it was not possible to reach an agreement on means of social control over the implementation of the economic reform, or a system of social safeguards concerning dangers which the implementation of the economic reform would bring about. In this context, it is worthwhile to mention the issue of the so-called indexation, that is automatic linking of increases in pay, benefits, and pensions with the increase in the cost of living. Although at the beginning it seemed that there was some agreement on this issue, we can see now that we are not achieving further progress and this is quite dangerous.

But there are more dangerous things. Namely in spite of the great criticism on the part of the roundtable participants, the Sejm has passed a whole array of laws dealing with agricultural and economic matters. It has to be said that that kind of behavior augurs very badly for future debates. It has also not been possible to come to agreement on stances concerning such very popular and unusually applied means to fight inflation such as budget cuts and the ceasing of capital absorbing investments.

Finally, an enormously pressing matter is the issue of the registration of the NZS [Independent Student Union]. There continues to be a lack of a political decision here. Before coming to the roundtable talks we were already saying that it was an enormously important matter, and we continue to consider it so. We think it is better to arrange it here than to allow a situation to arise where social tensions grow and the matter moves out on to the streets. That issue might, and should, give cause to very great concern.

Finally another very difficult matter, that is the matter of the nomenklatura, the matter of party recommendation in the economy, in culture, in education, in the health service, and so on, and Solidarity's access to television and radio. Total agreement has not been achieved on the issue of the future Sejm elections either.

The draft for a new electoral law is a step forward. Nonetheless, it will demand very far-reaching discussions, and this matter will recur at our meetings. Solidarity puts the matter clearly, that is Solidarity feels that in the future elections, though they might not yet be fully democratic, citizens must have the opportunity to freely and democratically choose a significant number of deputies. One more thing—this agreement relates only to the coming elections. The following elections, in our opinion, should be truly free and democratic, in our understanding of the terms.

Finally, Solidarity and the opposition milieux grouped around it are not treating the roundtable talks as something whose result is to bring about a freezing of the sociopolitical situation in Poland. Our aim is to mobilize democratizing mechanisms that will lead us out onto the road to implementing our national aspirations. As for the question whether after 3 weeks of debates we are closer to this goal, I would like to believe that despite all threats, difficulties, and troubles the answer is yes.

Baka Chairs Roundtable Economic Team Meeting

LD2802041889 Warsaw PAP in English
0140 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 27—The roundtable team for economy and social policy, co-chaired by Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski, met here today for the fourth time.

In the discussion, the Solidarity side presented their remarks and reservations concerning the draft social accord presented by the government-coalition side at the teams previous meeting.

Aleksander Paszynski said that a part of the government proposal concerning the foreign debt overlooks the necessity to acknowledge that the general guideline of the states economic policy should aim at overcoming the indebtedness barrier. He said that the to-date efforts in this respect and their results are highly unsatisfactory. This concerns, among other issues, the results of negotiations with Poland's chief creditors. Some things do not depend on us, said he, but the opportunities to attract means using less conventional channels of foreign financing were not used.

Witold Trzeciakowski stated that the agreement on economic issues should include also agreed measures against wage conflicts which should be solved through negotiations. The agreement should also support the government's stand towards foreign creditors. According to him, the basic discrepancy of opinions manifests itself in the passing of the law on some conditions for consolidation of the national economy, the rejection of the idea of the economic coordinating committee and the proposal to make budgetary savings. Despite all that, Trzeciakowski said, we are for the further efforts aiming at reaching agreement in the possibly widest gamut of issues.

Trzeciakowski presented a draft of a document on the economic and social issues settled at the roundtable, prepared by the opposition. The chief tasks listed in the document are: The improvement in market supply and living conditions, limiting inflation, protection of the population against the results of the inflation and the balancing of the markets, protection of labour and employment, implementation of new economic order, surmounting of the indebtedness barrier and arranging for formal social monitoring of the implementation of the roundtable economic decisions. As we see, Trzeciakowski said, these points are convergent to a large extent with the text presented by the government-coalition side.

Wladyslaw Baka said that he welcomed with satisfaction the evolution in the attitudes at the debate. The draft of the new social agreement presented by Trzeciakowski is very close to the draft which was presented a week ago by the government side and which already had been described as an effect of joint work. The general frameworks of both documents are almost fully convergent, which proves that the problems accounted for are of key importance for the future of Polish economy. Therefore, our efforts will focus on these issues—and this is an important premise for full consensus. The particular issues, however, should be further clarified and made more precise. However, it seems to me, Baka emphasized, that the convergence of the stands is far-reaching and that this is the effect of joint work whose stages were the successive sessions of the team, presentation of stands and discussion.

Baka assessed that an important trend in the moves aiming at the regaining of the balance is the review of investments through economic mechanisms, but also through administrative moves when necessary and possible. Poland suffers from excessive demand for investments, which is the source of many weaknesses of the economy, and for this reason should be curbed.

Referring to the stands on the surmounting of the indebtedness barrier Baka said that it is totally impossible to accept a thesis which would absolve Western states from the responsibility for the problems of Polish economy. Currently Poland offers most favourable conditions for the operating of foreign capital, said he. Such opinion is expressed by the highest-level officials of international financial institutions and by Western businessmen, Baka stated.

The debaters resolved to appoint working groups which will work out the wording and decisions concerning particular key issues such as economic policy, social policy, new economic order, surmounting of the indebtedness barrier and cooperation of social forces in the implementation of the economic reform.

Solidarity Statement to Team

LD2802042889 Warsaw PAP in English
2320 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 27—At a meeting of the roundtable group for economy and social policy here today the opposition-"Solidarity" side presented its statement which reads:

"Against the opinion of experts on our side, the government passed through the Sejm its draft on special powers for realization of the consolidation plan.

"The law gives the government powers to take decisions counter to the spirit of the proposed new economic order.

"This move arouses our greatest concern and confirms us in the conviction that the credibility of the roundtable must be supported by social inspection over realization of the undertaken obligations."

Roundtable Judiciary Reform Subteam Meets
LD2802042289 Warsaw PAP in English
2347 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 27—The round table subteam for the reform of the law and courts, co-chaired by Lukasz Balcer and Adam Strzembosz, held here today its fourth debate to discuss changes in the penal law.

The debate is to be continued on Tuesday, Feb 28.

Subteam for Agriculture Holds Third Meeting
LD2802041389 Warsaw PAP in English
0003 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 27—The roundtable subteam for agriculture co-chaired by Stanislaw Sliwinski and Andrzej Stelmachowski conferred here today at its third meeting.

The work continued on the concept of introducing market rules to food economy. The stance worked out by the subteam is a sign of reaching consensus on the issue. It accepts as indispensable to follow economic policy and legal measures with a view to market regulation of prices and ties of agriculture with other economic sectors.

Creation of the market, the participants stated, requires a consistent removal of the command-and-quota system and a gradual balancing of the market introducing, at the same time, suitable measures of economic policy.

Drafting groups to work out the subteams stance on rural infrastructure, financial problems and cultural-and-educational and social issues were appointed.

The subteam decided to prepare a separate document on demonopolization.

The next meeting of the subteam scheduled for March 7 is to discuss a stance on restructuring the economy with a view to the needs of agriculture and food economy.

Siwicki Queried on Military Structural Changes
LD2702181989 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1900 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Interview with Polish Defense Minister Florian Siwicki by editor Marek Baranski; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Baranski] At the beginning of January this year Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of National Defense, gave PAP an interview in which he discussed a plan for extensive changes in the Polish Army as a consequence of the defense doctrine adopted as well as the intention to considerably reduce defense expenditures. In that interview the minister also promised to report to the public more often on the Polish Army, on life in the Army. That is why I asked for this conversation.

[Siwicki] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen.

[Baranski] General, it has been nearly 2 months. Can you tell us any more details of the planned structural changes in our Armed Forces?

[Siwicki] As is generally known, the military is an organization set up to perform strictly defined tasks connected with ensuring the state's security. By and large, the structure has always been, is, and will remain a function, on the one hand, of the extent to which the state and its defense are threatened and, on the other, of the state's economic resources as well as the principles of the binding war doctrine. These factors mean that the Polish Army has never been and will never be a permanent organization. We always try to react to changing conditions in order to meet the requirements of the real situation.

Taking into consideration favorable developments in the international situation—especially in the sphere of threats to the state and the growing peaceful trends in Europe—we have again taken up the process of restructuring our armed forces. I do not have to stress that Poland, like other Warsaw Pact states—is vitally interested in strengthening peaceful trends. Our concrete contribution to the current disarmament dialogue, to increasing trust between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, is to publish data on our Armed Forces and reduce the military potential and level of military expenditures. This is also a confirmation of the proposals included in the Jaruzelski Plan.

As I said in my January statement, the favorable trends in the international situation, as well as in the country's economic situation, make it possible at the same time inspire us to emphasize our defense doctrine. Starting with such an assessment, the National Defense Committee last November made the well-known decision on issues concerning defense and the Armed Forces. This decision is the basis for the intensive work now being done in the Defense Ministry's main offices. This work has resulted in a specific plan for changes in the Armed Forces. The main point can be briefly expressed as follows: to have exactly the capacity which is really indispensable, but at the same time to manage it better and more effectively. This is a principle which we have applied in our work for many years.

[Baranski] General, what specific changes can we expect? I understand that the Polish Army is entering a stage of intensive restructuring.

[Siwicki] Yes, but before I answer this question I would like to remind you that we are not just starting to reduce the Army now. In the past 2 years we have reduced the

Army by 15,000 soldiers and many hundreds of units of military and technical equipment. As a result—this is also due to stricter economies—beginning in 1987 an opportunity emerged to also reduce defense expenditures in subsequent years.

However, to return to your question: At present, we are really starting a complex and very responsible 2-year reorganization of the Army. Another two divisions will be dismantled [rozformowane]: the 2d and the 15th Mechanized Divisions. The manning level of the 10th and 16th Armored Divisions will be fundamentally reduced. A new structure will be gradually introduced in all divisions. The organizational form and the military equipment will meet the requirements of modern defense activities.

We are also dismantling [rozformujemy] a dozen or so regiments of various kinds of forces, including armored, artillery, and air force regiments; simultaneously, more than 30 territorial defense, engineering and construction, and road and rail units will be transformed into civil defense formations.

I would like, sir, to take this opportunity to explain that those new civil defense formations will be carrying out production and service tasks, primarily for the national economy but also including the performance of services in hospitals.

Changes will also occur in the organizational system of military training; I mentioned this in January also. I will give an example: We are planning to combine the Academy of the General Staff of the Polish Army and Military Political Academy to create a National Defense Academy. The integration of some higher officer colleges with related educational programs is envisioned. Likewise, we intend to proceed in relation to warrant officer schools as well as centers of training for military specialists. The general number of colleges and centers will be reduced by one-third.

[Baranski] As I understand, General, you are talking about changes on the lower levels. What about the headquarters, the command centers, and the Army's plans?

[Siwicki] It is difficult to imagine that we could stop the reorganization at Warsaw's boundaries or at the front doors of the main institutions. In the process of explicit changes in the system of administration in the Armed Forces and the adaptation of its bodies to the new structure and size of the Armed Forces, the main institutions of the Defense Ministry as well as the command at the operational level will also be reduced and reorganized. An example which graphically illustrates this is, for example, the intention to merge the air defense and air force units into a single armed force. Restructuring, however, is not simply a mechanical reduction or the liquidation of specific centers; it is also far-reaching changes in the system and forms of commanding and directing the armed forces, particularly in computerization; a shortening of the information circuit; and radical reductions in reporting, record keeping, and other bureaucratic functions from which unfortunately the Army is also not free.

[Baranski] General, you mentioned that these changes will take place within 2 years. Therefore, I have some more questions: Why precisely 2 years? Second, since the defense minister gives a 2-year time limit, this means that he has a timetable.

[Siwicki] These questions are quite justified. In making the decision on the dismantling [rozformowanie] of military units, we took into account all circumstances, possibilities, and consequences. Please note that a regiment is not only a lot of varied armaments, military equipment, barrack compounds, and other material assets. It is above all people, particularly the highly qualified professional cadre. Time is also indispensible for relocating staff so that professional expertise will be put to the best possible use. We must also perceive the need for dealing with family problems connected with relocating or taking new jobs. Apart from this, we are creating conditions for the harmonious management of technology, both in the Army and in the national economy, and the optimal exploitation of buildings freed for other uses.

Regarding the timetable of activity, well in the upcoming period, that is on 3 and 4 March—of this year, of course—two armored regiments, a brigade of operational and tactical missiles, a mechanized training regiment, and several other units will be dismantled. I invite representatives of the mass media; I invite you, sir...

[Baranski, interrupting] Thank you very much.

[Siwicki] ...and also representatives of the defense attache corps accredited to Poland so that you can convince yourselves of the credibility of our actions on the sport, the place where the units will be dismantled.

[Baranski] What results will this reorganization carried out in the next 2 years bring?

[Siwicki] The results will be significant and maybe even great. That is how I would like to describe it. Our Armed Forces will be decreased during this period by 40,000 soldiers; around 850 tanks, 900 cannons and mortars, 700 armored personnel carriers, 80 combat planes, many various types of military technology will be withdrawn. This is quite a lot and you could probably even say it is very great, insofar as I evaluate this. On the other hand, I am interested in what the possibilities are for using this equipment in the national economy. This is a complicated problem. We will be guided by the principle that nothing may be wasted. Some of the technology of the dissolved and reorganized units will be passed on to other units and sub-units. In this way we will reduce the demand for new items. Most of the equipment, the most worn out, will be scrapped and after the removal of usable sub-assemblies will be given to the steel industry. A significant part will finds its way into the national economy.

I can imagine a series of possibilities arising here. We are examining them and thinking that our Army and civilian specialists will find the most efficient and beneficial solutions for the national economy. This, of course, applies to specialized equipment. On the other hand, there is no problem with the various kinds of vehicles. We operate repair workshops that will, via limited tenders, be made available mainly to farmers. It is a fact that several dozen planes of the older generation, after their weapons were removed, were sold last year to the payments zone [hard currency] for nonmilitary purposes; that is what I presume. Simultaneously, the Army (?can sell) a tank, (?and albeit) in small measure, supplement the state budget with hard currency.

[Baranski] These changes that you speak of will create opportunities to use the free productive capacities in the defense industry. What are these opportunities?

[Siwicki] I would like to once more recall that the defense industry in Poland is not at the disposal of the defense minister but of the industry minister. For my part, I can only report that we have reduced orders for military equipment; in fact, we will allow part of the productive capacity in defense industry enterprises to be reoriented toward producing goods needed by the market and the national economy.

The defense industry has good—I would even say excellent—technical personnel and by its nature has at its disposal many modern technologies and has a high degree of technological discipline; in other words it stands for high quality production. I think that these factors are good grounds for using the freed production capacities in the national economy, improving market supplies, and making us feel more satisfied. This is not, however, a simple matter; it will require time-consuming technical processes and organizational activities in many spheres, but I think that all this will be coped with by our efficient cadres.

[Baranski] General, a final question which I have to ask you as defense minister. Our historical experience is tragic. Will the restructuring of the Army, as mentioned by you, not affect Poland's defense capabilities?

[Siwicki] This is a good question; such fears could arise. We know well that although the threat to peace is decreasing, nevertheless it still exists. I mentioned at the beginning that military potential is the result of the real and predicted international situation. We remember this when making any decisions about structural changes in our Armed Forces.

Apart from that, we will maintain armies in such numbers and we will ensure they have such equipment as will really be indispensible at a given stage to guarantee Poland's security in the framework of the allies defensive system of the Warsaw Pact. Apart from that, does "less" have to mean only worse and weaker? Less today and in the future, in military service and on guard, should and will mean more efficiently, more effectively, more economically.

[Baranski] Thank you very much for this interview.

[Siwicki] Thank you.

Jaruzelski Delivers Military Conference Speech

LD2702233689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2111 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Recorded speech by PZPR General Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski to a 27 February PZPR report-back conference of the Pomeranian Military District in Bydgoszcz]

[Text] Dear Comrades! I am pleased to be among you and with you today. This is the rostrum of the party conference of the Pomeranian Military District, a district to which I feel particularly attached, both for historical reasons, wartime memories, and for the reason of my service here when I was the commander of the 12th Mechanized Division in the 1950's.

But this is a personal reflection. However, taking advantage of today's opportunity, I want to address all soldiers and all the party members in the Army. Twenty-one years is the total period in which I served as a minister of National Defense, and subsequently until now as the commander of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic. I highly appreciated and always appreciate the trust and support you have given me. I also feel this today. Thank you sincerely for the political wisdom, for the sense of soldierly and civic responsibility, for the openness and obedience.

However, I also know that you are not free of concern and anxiety about the fate of the country, about its stability, about safe socialist development. Against this background various doubts and questions are asked or and harbored within oneself. Among them, for understandable reasons, the question whether the 13 December [when martial law was declared] and the entire effort to save Poland, will not be endangered and wasted comes to prominence (?in relation to this development) of the situation.

The question is justified. And you have the moral right to ask it. After all, we must above all remember this: That if not for our decisions and actions at that time, it is possible, or rather it is certain, that not only Poland but also Europe and maybe even the world would look different today. This assessment is not Polonocentric megalomania, but simply the realistic awareness that if things had led to a disaster, to an explosion, to a conflagration in Poland, then as a consequence such reformist processes inside the system could not have been born for many years; and such international phenomena, such trends in relations between the blocs which create unprecedented prospects for the maintainance of the peace, give us all satisfaction, fill us with hope. Secondly, if we had not gone through this difficult, dramatic experience, there would be no roundtable today, and consequently those opportunities which it creates for the future of our nation and state.

Allow me to quote some excerpts from my speech of 13 December 1981 at this point: We are not aiming for a military coup, for a military dictatorship. Our nation has within it enough (?or has had enough) wisdom to develop an efficient, democratic system of socialist governments. Calling upon the help of the Army can only be of a temporary and extraordinary character. The Army will not replace the normal mechanisms of democracy. Democracy may, however, be initiated and developed only in a strong state based on law and order.

Anarchy is the contradiction and the enemy of democracy. The steps taken today serve the maintenance of the basic prerequisites of socialist renewal. All the significant reforms will be continued. One more quote, from the speech in the Sejm on 25 January 1982. The martial law prevented the disintegration of the structure of the socialist state. At the same time, the breaking off of the reforms intended to make permanent socialist renewal did not occur. Legislative work was not slowed down, lawmaking activity in the Sejm, the Council of State, and the government was maintained. This constitutes an undeniable proof of our factual, reformatory intentions. Those tried forms of socialist democracy that have been infringed must be reconstructed, and new ones responding to the higher level of the social development must also be built.

What do these words of 7 years ago, the words pronounced in your name, too, prove in a particularly dramatic moment of our history? They prove that for us democracy was not and will not be just empty sounds. We do not treat it as an instrument with profit in mind. It is the universal need and value which is developed and perfected on the ground of the civilizational and cultural progress of societies. Even more so it should constitute a social and political tool for the development of socialism, the system whose purpose is the liberation of man, social justice, and rule of the people. Our formation paid dearly for the profound distortions and delays in this sphere. In the last few years we have carried out many significant changes. We have not slept away all this time, although no doubt more could have been done. This, however, is another matter. [passage indistinct]

Pluralism after all, although in a narrower, shallower—at times almost supressed—version, has existed since the very beginning of People's Poland. As a result of decisions made at the 10th plenum, we are currently entering into its new, more (?comprehensible) and considerably extended phase. And here again question marks are appearing. Is it necessary? What can the consequences be? There is no point in burying one's head in the sand. One must take reality into consideration. The opposition in Poland was, is, and will be a permanent phenomenon. When it is active illegally, in the underground, understood not just literally in terms of its organization but also in terms of thoughts and its psychology, it gives proof to certain abnormalities in life and functioning of the state, and the weakness of its democracy. When it finds itself within the framework of the state as a responsible and constitution-abiding ingredient, then it can perform a positive role.

Expressing, of course not without doubt, such hopes, we take into consideration the fact that [words indistinct] and East-West relations. To put it briefly, the widely understood pluralism constitutes a logical reflection of the differences which exist in reality within society, of the contradictions and divisions. There can exist in enlightened, creative, and constructuve pluralism which mobilizes the national energy, but there can also be a noisy, confrontational, and anarchic one leading to nowhere. We intend to broaden and strengthen the former, the latter we should and we will condemn and fight.

The roundtable is a step in the right direction. This is not a wonder drug, but no doubt it is a chance at last to return to normality, to the lasting social peace and extensive civic participation in the process of reforms, to the establishing of the rules for achieving the accord in the conditions of individuality and variety. This is a great historical experiment and at the same time a very difficult task. There are considerable differences on many issues. However, the fact that the talks are going on, that these are not conversations of the deaf, that this is not simply an arena for a fight but a great experience of political culture—which, unfortunately, does not have very good traditions in Poland—all this no doubt already constitutes a precious achievement.

It is the economy that at present constitutes the key to progress. The situation in this area is more difficult. It is a painful and even stressful situation. Whole tomes have been written, some containing more expert views than others, containing frequently contradictory formulas for making it healthy. But the whole point is that, as the prime minister has said, matters which have been stood on their heads should be put aright again.

Above all, this means that the slowness in reaching solutions must be overcome, and that the fact that they are all interlinked must also be overcome. These two factors are a legacy of the past, springing in equal measure both from bureaucratic and conservative resistance and public opposition to essential and economically rational measures. We now find ourselves at an exceptionally crucial stage. The point is this: Will we be capable of stepping over this difficult threshold; will we be able to do it, to implement in practice a radical and reformist course? This is the "to be or not to be" as far as the socialized economy is concerned.

The situation is made perilously worse by the current euphoria of strikes and protests. The wage-price spiral, which is closely and mutually interdependent, leads directly to the proverbial empty shelves, facilitating the wheeler-dealer mentality, speculation, and the swelling of the wealth and poverty extremes. It deals its most savage blow to those whose complaints are heard least of all but who suffer the most.

What can one say in a situation such as this? In the first place it is impermissible to depart from the path of reforms. Inflation must be combatted with greater resolve, and this goes both for the development of prices and for the blackmail over wages. In the second place, the yardstick of the sense of responsibility of all the political and public forces is taking a resolute stance with regard to this threat. Finally, thirdly, I believe in the reason and the sense of responsibility of the working people, the Polish working class. They are the masters in their workplaces. And a good master does not undermine his own house.

Another danger also exists. You have spoken of it during the discussion. These are attempts to introduce anarchy into public life.

At the moment it is a question of getting safely to the end (?of this) proverbial line, to reach realistic, compromise, and positive solutions. That requires, among other things, that we tear ourselves away from various outdated complexes, grievances, and resentments, particularly as we also have something to remember. The dangers of that time, the confrontation fever, the glorification of restrictions, and many more other very ugly things.

What is more, if in those days the cards had been dealt differently one should judge that the effects for us, for the people of the Polish [words indistinct] would have been considerably more dangerous. [Words indistinct] still the [words indistinct] slogans about hanging communists instead of leaves.

Thus it is necessary to write a new page; and here the question (?returns) about a guarantee that we will not be pushed off the path of socialism. It cannot be. Whoever has such an intention, let him beat it out of his head. The fact that I am stating this in this very place and at this very time should also be a warning. It is not a defense of old positions. On the contrary it is a defense of our new developmental stage. It is action in the cause of the socialism of tomorrow, in which the high level of interdependence ought to serve the good of the human being and the happiness of society, the development of democracy and the strengthening of legal and state order, self-government and responsibility, economic efficiency and social justice, enterprise, economic viability and the security of values of a higher level, particularly in the sphere of welfare protection, education, health and culture.

[Words indistinct] that irrespective of the participants intentions objective sabotage in relation to the roundtable. (?Involved) are youth and [words indistinct]. The decisive majority of Polish youths—those studying and those working—find (?satisfaction) in study, work, sports, and leisure. In turn, youths in the Army do not spare any effort [words indistinct] and service. What is more, it is precisely these people, young soldiers, and Internal Affairs Ministry functionaries who constitute an especially numerous and self-sacrificing group of honorary, I stress honorary, blood donors. This unfortunately cannot be said about certain groups of youth in this (?place).

On the other hand, we must value the positive stance of the graduates of higher educational establishments who do their military service as reserve officer cadets. (?We have) even more of them. Together with the defense minister we are wondering about the possibility of shortening military service. I very much hope that antistate or anti-Army pranks by students do not force us, in the name of ensuring adequate time for a civic upbringing, to give up this intention.

One more bitter remark. Today we continuously hear the words: pluralism, democracy, reforms. The one who says them more often and more loudly is the one who feels very fashionable and modern. I do not have anything against this. [Words indistinct] and above all their content, were too few. The delays must therefore be made up, but with one addition. We must not forget the almost shamefully spoken words: work, discipline, obligation. In times when so many uplifting thoughts and slogans circulate it is worth glancing at the (?prose) of life from still another angle. For [words indistinct] grim satisfaction may be supplied when [words indistinct] so voluntarily [words indistinct] the Stalinist (?order), today utilize that [words indistinct] (?grown out of). That is in fact a relic of Stalinist philosophy and phraseology.

I particularly have in mind the crude epithets, biased opinions, intolerance, monopolistic usurpations, and the painting of everything in black or white terms, which in particular concerns historical assessments of the 20-year period between the wars and the 40 years of People's Poland. There is another phenomenon. Here I may be saying something controversial but this is how I see it and how I feel. If the enemy represent authentic ideological and political views and fights honestly to have them prevail, then I can assess him critically and fight politically. At the same time, however, I ought to respect his identity. It is difficult to respect people or groups who are deprived of political and moral backbone. Difficult times and unstable situations are a special reflection of human attitudes and are a test of the endurance of principles. It is worth carefully watching, this spectacle: Some stand on the ground of deep democratic transformations to make socialism stronger and strengthen the coalition of the left and the community of reformist effort; others, luckily few in number, from conservative or from defeatist positions are blocking our progress.

However, the most distasteful, I would even say cowardly, are the sudden changes in [words indistinct] turning with the wind, [words indistinct], pretend independence which becomes a de facto dependence of another kind. Those who for many years remained in a state of blissful inactivity when it was really necessary to fight are now, as the party accelerates its bold, pioneering, and historic work of transformation, going for the party's throat, or rather, to use boxing language, are hitting below the belt.

Some methods, publications, statements, and declarations remind one so vividly of the year 1981! At that time the rats made haste to flee the ship. But that ship—socialist Poland—was, is, and will be unsinkable! [applause]

Do not infer that this sharp assessment means that we must be angry in the face of criticism, of different evaluations and views. This would be the worst thing. Nor does it mean that we must for all time don the garb of the penitent covering our heads with ashes; especially as others did not do it and do not do it. At the same time it must always be borne in mind that it is the umbrella of untouchability and infallibility that did the worst damage to the party and the people's power. But even today one does encounter tendencies of this nature.

The 10th plenary session has dotted the i's, as reflected in the slogan in this hall: Poland needs a strong and a healthy party as a guarantor of the systemic order and the nation's secure existence. It has, at the same time, been stated that [words indistinct] but specific action felt in society, a sense of serving and being responsible to the working class, the working people, the nation—not a monopoly, but an authentic coalition nature and partnership; not directing from above, but a creative inspiration [words indistinct]. Bearing this in mind, we know better than anyone else that it is possible to [word indistinct] legs but not the head. But will not the Party thereby become [word indistinct]?

On the contrary, the 10th plenum resolution is a testimony of the real ideological and moral strength; an eloquent confirmation of the fact that the Party is capable of such bold reforms; that it is up to them. It must prove within each of its constituent parts that people, workforces and the country really need it. The time that has elapsed since the plenum clearly confirms this. However, the future will decide to what extent we shall be able consistently to implement the resolution; to strengthen our ideological and political identity; to step up our offensive; to ensure both boldness of thinking and discipline in execution. This, then, is the main task for the coming weeks and months and years alike.

As usual I have been talking a lot about nonmilitary subjects. But the Polish People's Army is not indifferent to anything which is important to the country for the very reason that it is a people's army. In fact, you have expressed this in your report and during the interesting, mature, and involved discussion.

At the end I will move on to issues concerning you more directly. I do not have to remind you that Poland's stability, the state of her defense preparedness, and the activity in the international arena, are factors of the international situation which are by no means trivial. We are participating creatively in the current processes. Our Polish plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in Europe, which I announced at the second congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in 1987, met with great interest and has entered the circulatory system of disarmament searches and considerations.

A fundamental step on the road to its implementation in Poland was made last year by the decisions 21 November National Defense Committee [KOK] session, the sense these decisions was developed and detailed by the National Defense minister in his press and television interviews.

This is the third profound reconstruction of the Armed Forces in our post-war history. The first, in the period 1945-47, was manifested in the Army's being transferred onto a peace footing. The second, in the period 1956-57, was a reorganization connected with the detente in the international situation of that time and with the political transformations in the country. Finally, the present and third, which is in the period 1988-90. Its significance is the greatest and the most characteristic. Why is this? Because it corresponds to and runs parallel to the great historic offensive of the new thinking, which the Soviet Union has brought into international politics.

Its leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, is respected throughout the world. It signifies a completely new, bold, and creative approach, an offer to replace the philosophy of enmity with the philosophy of the common home, interdependence, and cooperation in East-West relations.

I would like to emphasize once again at this point the role of our alliances, the significance of friendly relations with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union, brotherhood in arms with its Army, [word indistinct] values which history has confirmed. Today, in times of renewal and reconstruction, they are acquiring deeper meaning, new significance. We must and we will guard them. I share the opinions expressed in today's discussion that he who raises his hand against our alliances, against our defensive coalition, against our comrades in arms, raises his hand against national security, against the historic interests of Poland.

The Polish Army is a force, (?is) a nationwide organization. It serves the nation. It guards the frontiers and the security of the independent, sovereign Polish state. It strengthens its prestige and stability. Concern for the good name of the Army, for its authority, and respect for its tasks, for indispensible material and moral conditions for their fulfillment, is a measure of common sense and civic responsibility. Anyone who does not understand this, who plays with this—particularly on the 50th anniversary of the September defeat—puts forward very suspect [word indistinct].

Soldiers originating from various social groups, communities, and regions do service in the Armed Forces. The Army constitutes a priceless plane of patriotic integration and values, in the spirit of upbringing, in the spirit of civic duty, respect for work, and discipline. An exceptionally important role is played in this area by the Army party organization. Its activity in the Armed Forces has its obvious characteristics. It is not and cannot be a mechanical reflection of Party functions in other milieux. Its main and essential task is consolidation of the family of soldiers.

The political unity of the military ranks, activity favoring military readiness, discipline, and the [word indistinct] of military technology. This passes the test and does not require political reconstruction. It cannot, however, (?rest on its laurels) in the face of new tasks, in the face of further efforts strengthening the armed forces, answering to the spirit and demands of the time, in accordance with the directions for change sketched out by the tenth plenum. The consciousness of the need to undertake (?these) tasks (?reflects) the climate and subject of our conference. Comrades! We live in difficult and nervous times, but they are times of great openness and tempo of change. An unprecedented historical prospects is opening before the living generation of Poles. Both boldness and care are necessary to implement it; they cannot be found wanting.

We believe in the wisdom and patriotism of our nation. We believe that the supreme values—the real good of Poland—will be victorious. Our soldier is and always will be a determined defender and unfailing advocate of this cause. With deep satisfaction I confirm the good condition of the Promorze Military District and of the whole Army. The stance of the cadre and civilian workers, the self-sacrificing effort of the soldiers, the ever-higher level of discipline, of battle training, of economic management, and work for the national economy is worthy of respect. I once more sincerely thank you for this.

As we are in the Pomorze region, let me use a maritime phrase: Keep to this course. This signifies a faithful, unfailing service for the nation and for socialist Poland. I wish you further successes in this service. I wish you health and success, and also for your closest ones. I wish you well, [words indistinct] sincerely.

'Less Does Not Mean Worse'

*LD2702223289 Warsaw PAP in English
1804 GMT 27 Feb 89*

[Text] Bydgoszcz, Feb 27—Asked during a meeting with soldiers in Bydgoszcz today whether the announced restructuring of the Polish Army would not lower Poland's defence power and disturb the balance between East and West, Gen Jaruzelski said:

"I can only add that every such decision is thoroughly analyzed and weighed. It is exactly balance that has given us many years of peace. But of course 'less' does not mean 'worse'. This is above all the obligation for ever better training."

Jaruzelski handed PUWP candidate member cards to 33 young people from officer, petty officer and cadet cadres, and conscripts.

Commission To Commemorate Stalinist Victims

*AU1902204289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Feb 89 p 2*

[Excerpt] PAP—On 11 February, the State Council chairman received General of Division Roman Paszkowski, who told him about the problems currently being dealt with by the Council for Preserving the Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom.

In response to numerous demands from society made known at recent meetings of the PRON National Council and the Council for Preserving the Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom, it was decided to set up a Commission to Commemorate the Victims of the Repressions of the Stalinist Era.

This Commission will be attached to the Council for Preserving the Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom, within the framework of this Council's statutory powers.

Acting in concert with this Council's regional bodies and relevant persons and institutions, the Commission will collect and investigate information about events, locations, and victims of the Stalinist era, and commemorate them.

Zenon Komender has been made chairman of this commission. [passage omitted]

Rakowski Apologizes for 'Anti-Soviet Excesses'

*LD2702192989 Warsaw PAP in English
1806 GMT 27 Feb 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 27—Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski today received the Soviet ambassador to Poland, Vladimir Brovikov and relayed to him expressions of regret for the anti-Soviet excesses which took place last week in Krakow during a demonstration organized by a certain part of university students.

Rakowski Speaks at Council of Ministers Session

*LD2502232789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 2105 GMT 25 Feb 89*

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, 25 February, place not given—recorded]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. A session of the Council of Ministers was held today during which we discussed the recent political events in Poland. I would like to share with you with my remarks. They are remarks and opinions of the premier but at the same time of a citizen, after all. The first issue is the course of the roundtable debates. These debates are watched by the whole world, they are carefully watched in Poland, they are analyzed. There are even compatriots who are becoming impatient that nothing has been achieved there.

I, too, would like to see an agreement reached quickly, but I realize that it is not so easy, because at the table there are people of different political orientations, of different viewpoints, and working out or deciding on the joint program in the most significance matters for Poland is not so easy. But I believe in it; I am convinced that a common language will finally be found at the roundtable or at a number of smaller tables, and at smaller tables where one talks on different matters concerning [word indistinct] the entire political, social and economic life in our country.

I will only (?propose) the most important issues. Obviously, above all reaching an agreement, as I have already said, in several most important issues. Among them it is necessary to mention both the definition of the relationships, or the stance in view of reforming the economy, using which methods, what tempo. So one has to achieve divergence as to what has to be done.

There is also an issue of the elections, setting the date for the elections, the electoral law, and everything that is connected with the elections. There is also an issue of the face of Solidarity. There is an issue of the place of two trade unions in an enterprise. One can say that all this is braced by yet another clamp, namely, the issue of creating such political conditions, and such guarantees so that in Poland, in this new political model which is being shaped, the constructive opposition and all other forces which are interested, which are in favor, of the development of socialism in Poland cooperate harmoniously. Here, first of all, I have in mind the party to which I belong, allied parties, various other groupings which linked their fate with the socialist political system. Of course one has to remember that there are no wizards at the table but only normal people.

This is, as I think, a very important reminder because they are not in a position to suddenly conjure up a different better Poland, a Poland whose economy is going to work at once on very healthy principles. I add in any case that I am not a magician either, and remind you that when I took up the office of premier in my speech in the Sejm I spoke not only about the government's intentions but I also asked citizens whether they would be inclined to take part in the implementation of the economic reform and if they would be inclined to accept the results of this reform which are not always and cannot be extremely advantageous for everyone. Questions are asked if there really is such a agreement. I would say both yes and no. Part of society—I base myself on my knowledge about it—agrees that it is necessary to take into consideration the results of the economic reform, in other words, to put it simply, base the whole economy on laws functioning in the economy, and part does not agree. In this context I would like to talk about what frightens me. That is the strikes that have been breaking out in various places in Poland in the last few weeks. I am not going to go into who is organizing the strikes, whether they only have a spontaneous character, whether there are willful organizers, those who simply prepare a strike. One thing is sure and that is with the help of what we call the strike pistol, attempts are being made to obtain higher pay. To what degree the concessions or the decisions on pay raises are in accord with the enterprise's interests, I have no reply to that.

I believe that the directors calculate what they have and what they can give this year. In any case I would like to add, to remind you, that if a given work enterprise pays well above the limit it will have a sad end and the day will come when someone will come from the bank and say there is no money unfortunately.

I am not, however, calling for the strikes to be stopped, because that does not lie within my power, it depends precisely on people. What is more, I am not appealing to you, but quite simply leave it up to the citizens. Let them decide themselves whether it is advantageous for Poland, because I want to say that we will not get a step nearer to the desired aim by strikes.

We are only making the situation worse on the market, increasing inflation, with prices being increased as a result, because the money has to be found somewhere. [sentence as heard] I am not certain that these price increases are always justified.

Finally, another matter that interests me very much and makes me feel somewhat concerned: brawls that took place in the streets of Krakow and Warsaw. I have been told, I have been informed, that those brawls were organized by groups of young people, particularly students. Well, I want to say that if this is what political pluralism in Poland is supposed to look like and this is what democracy is supposed to be like, I sincerely thank you very much. I also think that phenomena of this kind may have some deeper background, they breach public order and public peace, which is needed by Poland as much as a man needs air. What is more, from what I know, many people are simply worried by such brawls.

You know, ladies and gentlemen, I have recently been in Paris. I held very many talks there, very important talks. It seems to me that it was a trip that served the interests of our country well. However, at the same time I must say that we have entered a period—I mean the development of the situation in Poland—when the whole world is looking at us. At all geographical locations governments and many citizens are following what is happening in Poland and are raising various questions: What will become of it all? Will the Poles find a language in common? Can they really establish peace and social order?

I would say that today we are taking an exam in civic maturity in front of the whole world. A question arises: Will we pass this exam? This is a fundamental question. I believe in the common sense of the majority of my fellow countrymen. If what I have said today is not too cheerful, this belief however strenghens my conviction that we are able to overcome these difficulties. As far as I am concerned, I would only like to assure the listeners that, as long as I have the strength, I will try to implement the aims I presented in the Sejm during my first speech. Simply, I have no intention of giving up because of difficulties. In this mood I say good-bye to my fellow countrymen and wish them a peaceful Sunday.

8 Feb Socioeconomic Committee Meeting Reported

AU1902190989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] PAP—At its 8 February meeting, the Council of Ministers Socioeconomic Committee reviewed present and forthcoming economic undertakings by various government bodies.

The council stated that one of the most important problems dealt with by the government recently is the pay rises for employees who are paid out of the state budget. An enormous effort has been made to bring the standard of living of these people in line with that of people in other spheres. About Zl trillion is being allocated for non-material production, as a result of which average wages in this sphere will be 97 percent of average wages in the material production sphere, a 26 percent increase over last year. Soon, teachers, artists, medical staff, and employees of the judiciary will receive higher salaries. The council recommended that these wage rises be implemented quickly, following consultations with the trade unions.

Among all the reform activity being undertaken by government bodies, it is worth mentioning the Health Ministry's program of improving the supply of drugs, and the Foreign Ministry's program of improving economic contacts with foreign countries on the basis of the law on economic activity with the participation of foreign economic entities.

The Sociopolitical Committee heard a report on transport and communications services, read by Transport Minister Janusz Kaminski. The delays in expanding transport, communications, and postal services are responsible for the present poor standard of service. Nevertheless, certain progress was made last year, and even more will be made over the next 2-3 years. As far as transport is concerned, both the state railroad and the state bus enterprise are suffering from a shortage of rolling stock and vehicles. The railroad ought to purchase 500 wagons a year, but only obtains between 250 and 300. Talks with the GDR are in progress, with a view to importing more rolling stock from that country.

As far as international air traffic is concerned, the prospects are very good. Four new aircraft were purchased last year, and another six will probably be purchased this year. A LOT Polish Airlines Warsaw town terminal will be completed in September, and a decision about a contractor to build a new international airport terminal will be reached by that time. As far as domestic flights are concerned, only a few air links with distant places will be preserved. The remainder will be replaced by fast rail services.

Thanks to suitable wage decisions in the final quarter if 1988, the ebb of postal workers has been halted. More than that, their numbers have increased by about 3,000. Better technical equipment in post offices is guaranteeing better service to customers. The funds necessary to computerize these services will be gained as a result of the expansion of telecommunications. Some 177,000 new telephones were installed last year, 27,000 more than planned. The program of the Ministry of Transport, Shipping, and Communications envisages the installation of 400,000 new telephones a year, thanks to which anyone currently waiting for a telephone will receive one within 5 years.

Andrzej Glowacki, deputy minister of internal trade, read a report on activity designed to improve the retail trade. An improper material-technical base is responsible for the inefficiency in this sphere. The area of shop space per 1,000 people in Poland is far less than in other CEMA countries. Over 60 percent of all retail outlets in Poland consists of small shops with an area of up to 50 square meters. There is a shortage of scales, cash registers, and refrigeration equipment. The monopolistic structure of trade does not encourage improvements.

The government's latest measures are gradually eliminating some of the deficiencies in trade. It is important to build retail and service outlets in new housing districts, where the presence of such outlets is well below actual needs.

The Sociopolitical Committee affirmed the correctness of the work aimed at improving service to consumers. However, it said that further improvements can be made if the work of the retail trade is reorganized.

13 Feb Meeting of Economic Committee Reported

AU2002092589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Text] PAP—Four socioeconomic problems dominated the 13 February meeting of the Council of Ministers Economic Committee.

PAP's correspondent writes: One can say that the strikes are becoming a part of the Polish scene. In economies based on market principles, stoppages of firms cause losses amounting to millions, and some strikes have been dragging on for months. We are reaching further and further toward market mechanisms, but we have to accept what is happening around us. That was a statement made during the meeting in reply to a report on the strike situation in factories.

Representatives of the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Chief Prosecutor's Office, who took part in the meeting, described this year's strikes. First, no political demands have been put forth during this year's strikes. Second, most of them have not been "centrally" controlled by some force. However, all that does not mean that one should accept the strikes or ignore them. They are causing quite tangible economic losses. The greatest danger stems from the continuing pressure concerning wages. Succumbing to this pressure would upset the balance of "subsidiary markets" and delay global market equilibrium, force inflation up, and convince people that only those who demand wage increases get them, not those who work the most.

The meeting recalled that the level of wages in enterprises is beyond the government's scope. It is the enterprises that decide how to divide their resources. They can only divide what they have produced. It is obvious that losses must occur if the distribution of resources is discussed after the machines have been switched off. This leads to less money available for distribution and, if a certain financial limit is exceeded, to the loss of a factory's credit rating and even bankruptcy. Such a situation has not yet arisen, but the government will not hesitate to close an enterprise, if necessary.

It was said during the meeting that the strikes are clearly against the law, including the trade union act. The ultimate weapon of strikes has been resorted to too easily. This must be a subject of concern for the "roundtable" participants, for it means that we can no longer control the present situation, and there are supposed to be even more legally active social forces in the future. Strike prevention measures were discussed. It was stressed that factory managers are chiefly responsible for strikes, but they should make greater use of economic and disciplinary measures, in accordance with their powers. The meeting also examined the possibility of a legal solution to the problem of sit-in strikes. It was considered expedient to apply the law of property in this regard.

Next, the committee examined the possibility of increasing supplies of natural gas from the USSR and from domestic sources until the year 2000. The country's development is threatened by an increasing shortage of fuels and energy. Analyses show that greater quantities of natural gas are the best solution to this problem. Natural gas has only constituted 7 percent of Poland's fossil fuel consumption so far, whereas this proportion is 30 percent on average in the EEC countries. It was suggested that gas deliveries from both sources increase steadily, so that by the year 2000 natural gas may constitute either 12 percent of Poland's fuel consumption (the first variant), or 20 percent (the second variant). This will make 55 million tonnes of coal available per year. Although the natural gas program would involve heavy spending, it is cheaper than alternative programs. The relevant ministries were asked to commence talks on this subject.

The committee discussed the conditions governing the abandoning of meat rationing. This would restore favorable trends to pig and cattle breeding, and to livestock procurement. The introduction of free procurement prices would serve as an economic incentive. This was regarded as the first of a series of steps in this sphere.

The committee sent back for correction a draft Council of Ministers resolution concerning the financial management of Polish radio and television, because the provisions of the resolution did not conform to the present economic changes.

Kubasiewicz Television News Remarks Reported

AU1902204489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, appeared on the television news on 12 February.

In reply to a question about a second Sejm chamber and other democratic reforms, he said: The possibility of a second chamber is real. There is no doubt that when we decided to hold the "roundtable," we realized this type of solution was necessary. However, we must await the outcome of the "roundtable" before we know whether or not it will occur in the near future.

Speaking about the 10th plenum, J. Kubasiewicz said: Remember that the plenum stance was not adopted unanimously. That shows that many people had doubts and fears. After all, 32 Central Committee members voted against it, and 12 abstained. Even today, one can say that opinions about this stance are varied. During the past few days, I have received over 200 different kinds of resolutions and stances from party organizations inside various milieus. Although all of them were unanimous in their support for the 10th plenum stance and resolution, each of them expressed certain doubts and fears about the practical realization of trade union pluralism. The problem lies in the fact that the Central Committee stance says that the Central Committee sees the possibility of creating other trade unions, including "Solidarity," whereas the "roundtable" is mainly discussing the question of legalizing "Solidarity." That is not the same thing. Hence the fears.

Asked about party unity and unanimity, J. Kubasiewicz said: One can say that there is an absence of unanimity in the party. That is very good, because only by means of discussions and a clash of opinions can programs of action be drafted and their implementation accelerated. However, as far as party unity is concerned, that is something altogether different. That is a question of unity of ideology, purpose, and program. I do not think there is any doubt about this. THe party's unity is clear.

Next, J. Kubasiewicz said: The recent conferences and working meetings held with party committee first secretaries were meant to provide the heads of party factory committees with the latest information, and dispel doubts in their minds. Before 8 February, in other words prior to the meeting with secretaries from 10 voivodship on that day, we invited the relevant voivodship committees to send in questions and problems that needed answering and solving. Only 1,000 such questions were sent in. Deputy Premier Janusz Patorski explained a series of matters that were troubling factory party secretaries, managements, and work forces, matters involving the functioning of enterprises in 1989. I also wish to stress that this meeting expressed unanimous support for the 10th plenum stance and resolution. However, many participants expressed doubts and fears, asking such questions as: How will trade union pluralism appear in my factory? These were people who remembered 1980 and 1981, and I appreciate their doubts and fears. They have every right and justification to hold them.

Jastrzebski Appearance on British TV Reported

AU2002093689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Feb 89 p 8

[PAP report: "Minister Jastrzebski on Polish Affairs"]

[Text] London—Dominik Jastrzebski, minister of foreign economic cooperation, appeared in a program that enjoys an excellent reputation here, "The World This Week" on Channel 4 of British television. Together with W. Fowler, democratic member of the U.S. Senate Budget Committee, and Professor Michael Stuermer of the FRG's Ebenhaus Institute, which deals with foreign policy, he was invited to take part in a discussion on the subject of the "roundtable" in Poland, the U.S. draft budget, and the latest events in the FRG.

Presenting the "roundtable" talks against the general background of the Polish reforms, Minister Jastrzebski said that because of the complicated situation, the preparations for these talks did not take long. The basis for these talks was provided by, on the one hand, the documents adopted by the 10th PZPR Plenum, and, on the other hand, the "Solidarity" stance whereby it recognizes the present political system in Poland.

Speaking about economic restructuring, Minister Jastrzebski said that the Rakowski government has been tidying up this sphere since the day it took office, and has implemented many ideas that were discussed before that time.

Referring to President George Bush's actions to eliminate the U.S. budget deficit, D. Jastrzebski said Poland is not indifferent toward this problem because if this action causes interest rates to go up, the interest on Poland's debts will also go up.

Asked about Poland's attitude toward a hypothetical united and neutral Germany, Minister Jastrzebski said that Poland professes postwar reality and the provisions of the 1970 treaty with the FRG. Poland regards these matters as fundamental ones, he said.

Polish-Hungarian Group Criticizes Prague Trials

AU2002082389 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] The newly founded opposition group Polish-Hungarian Solidarity has sharply criticized the planned trials against opponents to the regime in the CSSR. In a statement, 32 Polish and Hungarian intellectuals have described the trials against writer Vaclav Havel and other opposition members as an example of the totalitarian rule of the CSSR Government. The trials are scheduled to begin in Prague tomorrow [21 February].

Yugoslav 'Crisis' Viewed by TRYBUNA LUDU

AU2002123189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 9

[Zbigniew Lesnikowski article: "The Battle for Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpts] Unemployment in Yugoslavia is over 8 percent, the national product is falling year after year, foreign debts exceed $20 billion, and inflation has exceeded 200 percent, instead of the planned 90-95 percent. The continuing lack of prospects for an improvement in the situation is causing even greater concern, and the Yugoslav crisis, which has continued for over 8 years, has, in the words of Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, "reached the bottom." [passage omitted]

Radivoje Marinkovic, director of the Marxist Center of the LC of Serbia, describes the situation thus: "Yugoslav society is stuck at the crossroads. It cannot go back, and it does not know which way to proceed. The authorities have even greater doubts about which way to go than society. The system is constantly revealing its faults, society is divided, politics takes precedence over the economy, and the formal self-management conceals bureaucratic authority." [passage omitted]

New, shocking events have occurred since the 17th LCY Plenum, rather hastily called a "historic" plenum. Following the collapse of the authorities of Vojvodina, the same thing happened in Montenegro. Nationalist sentiments, which had not been repressed too effectively, flared up. Another wave of unrest swept Kosovo. Prices went up drastically yet again, and the dinar fell. The cost of living reached a level that pushed most families to the edge of the poverty line. Under the pressure of criticism, the Mikulic government resigned at the end of the year, but the new Markovic cabinet has still not been formed. The dominating "Yugoslav orientation" that took shape last year, characterized by a joint awareness of common Yugoslav threats, has gotten lost somewhere. The latest weeks have brought a sharp increase in the trends of disintegration, while the current situation in the eight-member federation and in the party is based on chance arrangements between its anatagonized components.

This was openly admitted at the recent 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum, which revealed even greater divisions in the party leadership than before. This lack of unity in viewing the crisis in the LCY and country and in ways of overcoming the difficulties was considered to be the greatest obstacle to stabilizing the situation.

The seriousness of the situation is best illustrated by the stormy proceedings of this 3-day televised session, at which Admiral Petar Simic, a member of the highest LCY cell and chairman of the party organizations in the Army, said: "Never in the history of Yugoslavia's postwar development has there been such a danger to the integrity of our country and to the fortunes of our revolution. If someone declares a battle for Yugoslavia, this will not take place without the Yugoslav Army, and behind it millions of working people, to whose hearts Yogoslavia lies much closer than to those of the individual, blind, and bureaucratized groups." [passage omitted]

The unanimously adopted 20th plenum resolution underlined a joint determination to struggle for Yugoslavia's further development as a socialist, democratic, self-governing, independent, and nonaligned state based on a federal state system; for the solution of working people's urgent problems; and for legal order, the rule of law, and effective activity by SFRY political institutions.

Therefore, a lot indicates that the current battle for Yugoslavia may be won, but probably not until the next LCY congress, which is meant to take place this year, though it is not known whether this will be an extraordinary or an ordinary congress.

Further on Visit by Iranian President Khamene'i

Khamene'i Toast at Dinner

AU2702145789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Feb 89 pp 1, 3

[Report on toast by Iranian President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i at official dinner given in his honor by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, in Bucharest on 23 February]

[Text] Your Excellency, Mr President, high-ranking authorities, honored audience: I am glad to be in this beautiful city of Bucharest in your midst, friends and high-ranking Romanian authorities, and dear hosts.

I want to take this opportunity to express thanks for the beautiful and sincere welcome and for the very warm hospitality shown by his excellency the president, by the Romanian people, and government.

Mr President, honored audience, relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Socialist Republic of Romania have a long-standing tradition and are based on the interests of the two peoples and states. The victory of the Islamic Revolution and the proclamation of the Islamic Republic, which put an end to the policy of dependence on the West and the policy toward the oppressed states, have increased cooperation between our countries and have strengthened relations between them even more. Thus, in the first years after the victory of the Islamic Revolution we witnessed a considerable development and increase in our bilateral relations in the economic area; despite this, one can say that so far only part of the potential of the economies of the two countries has been used and that great possibilities still exist.

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran promotes respect for the independent countries which it prefers over those countries that showed obvious tendencies of domination in the past. This has contributed to the intensification of the numerous visits of the political and economic authorities of the two countries, of the exchange of views on bilateral issues, and of cooperation within international forums, and it has contributed to an increased economic cooperation between our countries. It is worth mentioning that economic exchanges between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Socialist Republic of Romania are twice as high as the average level of the years before the Islamic Revolution.

The Romanian people's struggle against warmongers and against those showing tendencies toward domination in Europe, as well as the great resistance of the Muslim Iranian people during the 8 years of imposed war against the aggressive occupants constitute an important common feature of the Iranian and Romanian peoples. The origin of this resistance and strong desire to oppose foreign aggressors at home demonstrates the courage and desire for independence of the two peoples. In this sense, the struggles that ensured the independence, quietness, and freedom of the two peoples, as well as the effects of these achievements on the current political activity of each country, are also appreciated by us.

Mr President, honored audience, the current political and economic situation in the world and the relations of big powers with the small and developing countries offer no hope for the future for the Third World. The division of the world into dominating and dominated people moves away the prospect of achieving the great human ideals and results in the struggle and efforts of the revolutionaries and great militants for peace. The world is still witnessing such enormous injustices as: apartheid, the usurpation of Palestine, and the system of plundering the peoples of Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

The structure of the current international law has actually not succeeded in safeguarding and preserving the rights of the Third World countries. We still witness shortfalls in the regulations on banning aggression, on the overt use of force in international relations, and in the regulations on banning chemical weapons, as well as in the rules and definitions regarding human rights and other aspects.

Our country and people have repeatedly suffered from such shortfalls and deficiencies, and from the lack of strength of such laws and principles. Even now the world is seriously threatened by a chemical and biological war, and by destructive weapons as a consequence of the negligence of powers and states, which could have taken steps in this respect. In our opinion, one can no longer be indifferent toward such phenomena, which have a most negative effect and cause damage to the progressive peoples desirous of freedom and independence.

Mr President, honored audience, we are deeply convinced that the peoples and governments, who are completely determined to struggle against evil, injustice, and corruption, may still have hope for the future. Man's nature, that is his creative energy, can overcome all these evils and corruption if his creativity is coupled by the determination, hope, and desire to fight. Throughout its long history, humanity has repeatedly gone through this experience. We believe in this struggle and we are convinced that logical ways and means have to be found to fight.

Stressing that the goal of this struggle is to improve peoples' life, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i continued by stressing that independent countries should cooperate and more and more limit the area of interference of the big powers in their administration and life. In our opinion, the speaker said, Iran and Romania may stand out as an example of sound cooperation between two independent countries.

Mr President, honored audience, the Iranian Islamic Revolution, which was a people's revolt against oppression, injustice, corruption, and dependence, based on sacred ideals and great humane goals, celebrated the

10th anniversary of its victory last week. We have passed a 10-year period full of events, a period in which aggression was coupled by propaganda on the part of our enemies. In this period—the speaker emphasized—through the desire, courage, and resistance of the Iranian people, we gained a priceless reserve of experience and attained tremendous achievements.

The East and West united against us by making use of military, political, and economic plans and plots in order to put pressure on and compel a great and ancient nation desiring independence and freedom to withdraw and renounce its ideological and political positions.

President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i then expressed the opinion of the Iranian leadership on the Iran-Iraq war, which claimed many victims and caused great material and cultural damage. The speaker emphasized that, at this time revolutionary Iran has begun to establish and pursue its goals for independence and freedom and, after 10 years of efforts and resistance, it has started its "period of comprehensive reconstruction."

The acceptance of Security Council Resolution 598 by the Islamic Republic of Iran, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i said, is an effort toward establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We assure the international community that we will do all we can and make use of every opportunity to achieve peace and justice. To express our goodwill, as part of our cooperation with the UN secretary general, we have begun to organize extensive diplomatic activities to confirm the action on the basis of the aforesaid resolution.

Mr President, considering the prospects of reconstruction and peace in our country and friendship and cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Socialist Republic of Romania, I believe that this is a favorable opportunity to continue to develop and expand our relations. I hope that these friendly visits will open fresh prospects for cooperation between the two countries.

Concluding his speech, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i said that he takes this opportunity to express, once again, words of appreciation for the warm welcome and for the sincere hospitality he enjoyed on behalf of the Romanian president, and conveyed wishes for happiness, success, prosperity, and security to the Romanian people. (applause)

Tehran Radio Reports on Dinner

NC2402070889 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Romanian President Mr Nicolae Ceausescu gave a dinner reception last night at the Romanian State Council in honor of President Mr Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i and his entourage.

At this reception, the Romanian president expressed happiness over the visit by the high-ranking Iranian delegation to Romania and described it as a sign of positive development in the two countries' relations and of a mutual wish to elevate cooperation in the industrial, commercial, scientific, and technical fields. Explaining his country's stands on international issues and especially on the arms race and on the principle of noninterference in the domestic affairs of countries, he said: We decisively support the simultaneous fulfillment of nuclear and chemical disarmament. Expressing happiness at the termination of the Iran-Iraq war, he said: Efforts should be made to reach an understanding for the sake of establishing a final peace in the region. The Romanian president also called on the United Nations to become more active in solving world problems.

Mr Khamene'i then expressed thanks for the hospitality extended by the president, nation, and Government of Romania. He referred to the long record of relations between the two countries, and said: The Islamic revolution increased the common grounds between the two countries and further strengthened bilateral ties.

Referring to the Islamic Republic's policy of respecting independent countries, Mr Khamene'i said: This policy and the various visits by the two countries' officials strengthened the two countries' cooperation and led to a doubling of their trade in comparison with the average level of bilateral trade before the revolution.

Mr Khamene'i referred to the Romanian people's struggles against warmongers and domination-seekers in Europe and to the Iranian people's resistance during the 8 years of sacred defense, and said: The nature of the resistance of these two countries is proof of their brave and independence-seeking character.

Pointing to the fact that the present structure of international law has been unable to defend the rights of Third World nations, Mr Khamene'i said: There are shortcomings in the laws concerning the banning of aggression and of the use of force in international relations. We also are witnessing shortcomings in the regulations regarding the banning of chemical weapons. He added: Our country and nation has suffered repeatedly from these shortcomings. The world is now seriously threatened by chemical and biological warfare and by lethal weapons because of the negligence of the powers.

Stressing the need for nations and governments to unite to fight evil, oppression, and corruption, Mr Khamene'i said: Independent nations should cooperate to tighten and limit the sphere of need for big powers in various aspects of life as much as possible. Romania and Iran can be an example of healthy cooperation between two independent countries.

Our president then referred to the 10th anniversary of the Islamic revolution's victory, and said: We have passed a decade full of incidents, aggressions, and sanctions initiated by our world enemies. But, by leaning on God's assistance and on the determination of the brave and resistant Iranian people, we have amassed a priceless reserve of great and unending experiences and achievements.

Listing the various plots by the domestic and foreign enemies of the Islamic revolution, and first and foremost being the imposition of an 8-year war on Iran, Mr Khamene'i said: Despite these plots, our nation proudly announces that all these pressures were unable to affect our people's revolutionary determination. After 10 years of resistance, revolutionary Iran is now starting an era of comprehensive construction.

Mr Khamene'i described Iran's acceptance of UN Security Council Resolution 598 as an effort to establish a just peace in the Middle East, and said: Despite the Iraqi regime's obstructionist policy and pretexts, we are doing our utmost to establish a just peace in the region. In addition, in order to express our goodwill, while cooperating with the UN secretary general, we also have organized extensive diplomatic activity with the aim of implementing UN Security Council Resolution 598.

Cooperation Promoted

LD2402153289 Tehran IRNA in English 1450 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 24, IRNA—The Iranian president's visit to Romania is a sign of "positive change" in Tehran-Bucharest ties, and mutual keeness for expansion of industrial and trade cooperation said the Romanian president here Thursday night. Nicolae Ceausescu was speaking at a dinner banquet in the honor of President 'Ali Khamene'i.

"Efforts should be made for an understanding and the real establishment of peace in the region in light of a more active role by the United Nations," Ceausescu said in reference to the Iraq-Iran war.

President Khamene'i's visit received wide coverage in the Romanian media and major dailies printed reports on their front pages. Khamene'i is visiting Romania on the second leg of his first visit to Europe. He visited Yugoslavia earlier.

In his speech, Khamene'i said Iran's policy of respecting independent countries prepared the ground for expansion of Tehran-Bucharest cooperation during visits of the two countries' officials earlier this month. The visits had enabled the doubling of economic exchanges as compared to the pre-revolution era. The president criticized the structure of international law which he said failed to defend the rights of the Third World countries.

"We are witnessing shortcomings in the regulations of banning the use of force in international relations as well as in preventing the use of chemical weapons." The Iraqi-imposed war in addition to devastations which were the normal consequence of war, witnessed crimes such as missiling cities, destroying cultural monuments, attacks on passenger planes, and commercial ships, and chemical bombardments.

He said Iran accepted U.N. Resolution 598 in an effort to establish a just peace.

"Despite all Iraqi impediments and pretexts, we will do our best to restore justice and peace in the regions."

The Iranian president termed Tehran-Bucharest ties as a model for "healthy cooperation" between two independent countries.

Official Talks Concluded

AU2402195289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 24 Feb 89

["Conclusion of the Romanian-Iranian Official Summit Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/2/1989—The official talks between the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, concluded at the State Council Palace on Friday in the afternoon.

The two presidents continued their exchange of opinions on questions related to the development of Romanian-Iranian relations. The fact was underscored that the further expansion of bilateral cooperation—in the political, economic, technical and scientific areas, as well as in other fields of activity—was in the interest the two countries and peoples and served the general cause of progress and peace in the world. At the end of the talks, the two presidents expressed their satisfaction at the results of the visit, at the understandings reached on the occasion, as well as their wish to continue their summit dialogue with a view to examining new ways and possibilities of expanding the bilateral relations and the cooperation between Romania and Iran on an international plane, in the efforts for collaboration and peace, for a constructive settlement of the major issues facing mankind.

The results of President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i's official visit to Romania, upon an invitation extended by President Nicolae Ceausescu, were enshrined in a communique to be released.

Khamene'i Departs

AU2502141089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1038 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/2/1989—The official visit paid to Romania by Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic or Iran, at the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu, came to an end on February 25.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i arrived together at the Otopeni Airport that was flying the two countries state flags.

Members of the State Council and of the government, other Romanian officials, were present at the airport.

Romania's ambassador in Tehran and Iran's ambassador in Bucharest attended.

A military guard presented arms. The state anthems of the Islamic Republic of Iran and of the Socialist Republic of Romania were played. A 21-gun-salvo salute was fired.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i reviewed the guard of honour.

A group of young pioneers presented the two presidents with bunches of flowers.

By the plane ramp President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i parted cordially and warmly shook hands.

The Iranian presidential aircraft took off at 10:45, making for Iran.

Cooperation Memorandum Signed

AU2502141389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1209 GMT 25 Feb 89

["Signing of Memorandum of Romanian-Iranian Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 25/2/1989—A memorandum of understanding on Romanian-Iranian collaboration in the political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural collaboration was signed Saturday morning in the presence of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i.

The document was signed by Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee, and, respectively, by 'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs, and Mas'ud Roghani Zanjani, minister of plan and budget.

Communique Issued

LD2502072289 Tehran IRNA in English 0710 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, Feb. 25, IRNA—At the end of a three-day official visit to Romania by President 'Ali Khamene'i, a joint communique was simultaneously issued in Bucharest and Tehran Saturday [25 February] morning, which hailed joint stances of the two countries on major issues.

It stressed a careful observation of international rights including sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity, and non-interference in other's affairs and rejected use of coercion.

It also called for expansion of Tehran-Bucharest economic ties and said both sides agreed to explore potentials for expansion of cooperation in the field of production, industries including small, chemical, petrochemical, and energy, as well as transfer of technology. It also called for cooperation in the fields of agriculture and transportation.

Both President Khamene'i and President Nicolae Ceausescu pledged full support for execution of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 on ending the Iraq-Iran war.

They also called for removal of foreign military bases and withdrawal of foreign forces from countries and urged immediate pullout of foreign forces from countries and urged immediate pullout of foreign forces from the Persian Gulf. Evaluating bilateral relations as positive, the communique expressed interest of both countries for bilateral and international cooperation. It also called for an end to the arms race and the production of nuclear and chemical weapons and condemned their use.

Iran and Romania supported the Palestinian cause and the struggle of the Palestinian Muslims and called for a solution to the Middle East crisis. Furthermore, they backed the struggle of Lebanese people.

The communique also lauded measures taken for solving the Afghan issue. It called for the establishment of a united, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. Both countries strongly condemned apartheid and praised the role of the Non-Aligned Movement.

President Khamene'i who arrived here Wednesday evening heading a high-ranking delegation and following an official visit to Yugoslavia, invited his Romanian counterpart to visit Iran which was accepted. The time of the visit will be announced through diplomatic channels.

Suvar, Grosz Exchange Views on Reform Process

LD2702103989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Beli Manastir, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Talks have started between Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, and their staffs at Villa Tikves, on the Jelen hunting and forestry estate, not far from the Yugoslav-Hungarian border.

On the Yugoslav side, in addition to Suvar, the following are taking part in the talks: Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Stanko Stojcevic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia; Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Aleksandar Sekulovic, head of the Department for International Cooperation; and Rudi Sova, Yugoslav ambassador to Hungary. In addition to Grosz, the following are taking part in talks on the Hungarian side: MSZMP Politburo member Janos Lukacs and Sandor Gyorke, Hungarian ambassador to Yugoslavia.

The distinguished guest from Hungary, accompanied by his associates, arrived at Villa Tikves just after 0900, where he was cordially greted by his host Stipe Suvar. On the Yugoslav-Hungarian border, Grosz and his associates were welcomed by Executive Secretary Stanislav Stojanovic.

The 4-hour working meeting between the two Yugoslav and Hungarian party figures and their associates is expected to be devoted mainly to an exchange of views on current events in the two countries and to the reform process in the political, economic, and party spheres. In this context LCY Central Committee Presidium President Suvar will also brief his guests from Hungary on the latest developments in the Province of Kosovo.

The meeting is being monitored by 40 journalists, including 10 or so journalists from neighboring Hungary.

Defense Secretary Says Army Preserving 'Unity'

LD2402172289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1530 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Velika Gorica, Feb 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav defense secretary, Gen. Veljko Kadijevic today underscored as very significant the fact that, despite the divisions in the leaderships and a deep crisis in the country, the Yugoslav People's Army has succeeded in preserving its internal unity and moral strength.

Addressing a group of senior air force and air-defense officers in Velika Gorica today, Gen. Kadijevic said that the army enjoyed great prestige and confidence among the people and acted as a stabilizing factor of Yugoslav society.

Gen. Kadijevic set out that the Yugoslav People's Army must continue to cherish and further develop its all-Yugoslav and all-people's character, to strengthen and further deepen its ties with the people and always be ready successfully to carry out its constitutional duties in the defense of the country's social system and territorial integrity. There are no and must be no dilemmas in this regard, Gen. Kadijevic stressed.

Yugoslav Defense Secretary Kadijevic insisted that the current aggravation of the general situation in the country and especially of the situation in the province of Kosovo, where ethnic Albanians have been striking for five days running, must be taken into consideration when defining priorities in the modernization and further development of the armed forces and the upgrading of their combat capability.

NATO Maneuvers Criticized by Spokesman

LD2402213389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 24 (TANJUG)—Military exercises, such as NATO's which began today, although only a considered "war games", run counter to present positive trends in the world, particularly in Europe, an official Yugoslav Government spokesman said today.

In a statement to TANJUG, the spokesman stressed that the assessment stands, particularly since the NATO maneuvers, based on the presumed fall of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and a Soviet army intervention because of unrests in Yugoslavia, are being publicized.

The "scenario" of the two-week NATO maneuvers provides for the conflict to be resolved through the use of atomic weapons and after a series of destructions and mass annihilations of war gases.

The West German provinces with social-democratic governments have for the most part declined participation in the exercises which are mainly staged in the Federal Republic of Germany. Some political groups have announced protests.

Stari Trg Miners' Demands Met; Further Reaction

Serbian Union Council's Views

LD2602173489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Demands of the Trepca miners that Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi submit resignations cannot be accepted. We regard them as attempts to further destabilize the situation in Kosovo, as opposition to changes of the Constitution of the Serbian SR and to resolving the crisis of intra-national relations in Kosovo, the statement from today's extraordinary session of the Presidium of the Serbian Trade Unions Council stresses.

The explanation states that demands for resignations are not only personal issues but also an individuals's moral act, because people are at stake who showed readiness to fight Albanian nationalism and separatism without compromise on the basis of the platform of the LCY, Serbian LC, and Kosovo LC.

According to the Presidium, the party most responsible for the situation are leadership of Trepca and other individuals who led workers in such suicidal act for realization of their, above all, political aims.

Supports arriving these days for the miners to persist in their demands are not well-intended, and the incite disunity and distrust and put human lives in jeopardy, the statement reads. [passage omitted]

The Presidium of the Serbian Trade Unions Council will send stances from today's session to the Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Unions Council, which convens a session tomorrow.

LCY Presidium's Appeal

LD2702095689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0823 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Yesterday's emergency session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium addressed an appeal to the miners in the Trepca lead and zinc pit in Stari Trg, on the 18th day of their strike, asking them to leave the mines and to stop their strike. The appeal, which was forwarded to the miners through the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, states:

"Comrade Stari Trg miners, we appeal to you to leave the pits and to stop jeopardizing your health and lives, and in the interest of your families; the Albanian nationality, of which you are members; of our entire socialist Yugoslavia; brotherhood and unity; and equality of our nations and nationalities, its progress and survival, and in so doing, demonstrate your beliefs, humanism, and dignity. With the influence and authority of the politico-executive organ of the LCY Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee Presidium will work for an urgent, frank, and democratic discussion of your demands and—in the spirit of the SFRY Constitution and the LCY Statute—adopt appropriate decisions, including the establishment of responsibility of every organ and individual.

"At no time has any of the most responsible members of the leadership of the Kosovo LC raised the question of the defense of his office. What is involved here is the principle that the responsibility of every LC member must be decided on in accordance with the Statute. In this connection, immediately after you leave the pit, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will meet to assess the situation, formulate the main directions of its work, and adopt a decision in the spirit of the Statute provisions and of the procedure with which the LC complies," the LCY Central Committee Presidium appeal states.

Students Gather in Support

LD2702132989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1121 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—At the "25 May" sports hall in Pristina this morning, there were about 6,000 students expressing solidarity with the Trepca miners. Several hundred more were crowded around the entrance, for whom there was obviously no room inside. The students have organized a system of stewards around the hall and are not allowing anyone, apart from their colleagues, to approach the building.

The stewards, who are wearing red arm bands, like the stewards at the Trepca mine in Stari Trg, are in particular not allowing journalists and cameramen access. They chased TANJUG correspondents away in a very crude way, not even allowing them to remain next to the hall.

Update on Situation

AU2702160489

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 27 February carries a 40-minutes newscast, 30 minutes of which are devoted to the situation in Kosovo and to events connected with Kosovo. Some of the reports are read by studio announcers, while others are recordings of reports by various correspondents. None of the correspondents are identified.

The newscast begins by the announcers reading the statement issued by the SFRY Presidency on the need to introduce "special measures" in Kosovo. This was followed by a report on the general situation in the province and a report on the resignation by Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, in which he gives his reasons for tendering his resignation.

The next report was devoted to the letter of resignation sent by Husamedin Azemi, president of the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium, to the Stari Trg miners, in which he says: "I am sincerely concerned about the life and health of all people in the shaft and sympathize with their families. However, an attempt is being made through the miners to realize political aims which are not in line with the LCY tenets, and thus are not in their interest. All these pressures that have recently been exerted on me in a an extremely unhuman way come from those who branded my endeavor for the LC policy, brotherhood and unity, and equality among the peoples and nationalities as a betrayal of the Albanian nationality to which I belong." Azemi then explains his political stands and work in the Kosovo LC and says: "In view of the methods of blackmail and psychological pressure being used, I will be blamed for the lives and health of the miners; thus, I am submitting an irrevocable resignation from the post of president of the Pristina LC Communal Committee."

According to the report, the discussion concerning the resignation of Azemi lasted a long time. Serb and Montenegrin members of the communal committee pointed out that Azemi's resignation was received as a "defeat and failure of the LCY policy." They also insisted that "the list of the organizers and inspirators of the November demonstrations and present miners' strike be revealed within 48 hours and warned that otherwise they will resign from the Pristina leadership themselves." The report also says that Serbs and Montengrins fear that the method of blackmail will spread if concessions are made now.

The report adds that several Serb and Montenegrin members of the Kosovo SAWP announced their resignation during the Pristina LC session, and says that "almost all correspondents from Kosovo decided to leave the LCY because they are convinced that the LCY is being defeated in Kosovo."

The report that followed refers to another strike: "Some 800 miners of the Leposavic mine near Kopaonik are refusing to leave the shaft until emergency measures are introduced in Kosovo. The miners of Serbian, Montenegrin, and Muslim nationality, including several Albanians, demand that the strike by and the manipulation by the Stari Trg Albanian miners be stopped immediately, because their demands proceed from counterrevolutionary positions."

Meanwhile, according to another report, there was yet another news conference in the Stari Trg mine, but there was no indication that anything will change. The report adds that the miners are well informed about what is happening outside the mine, and that a bank account will be opened to help to the miners and their families.

Holding Out for Resignation

AU2702170489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Report by Kosta Krajincanic]

[Text] A session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium opened in Pristina at 1700 [1600 GMT], but it lasted only 10 minutes. Chairman Rahman Morina asked for the latest information on the situation in the Stari Trg mine.

Jusuf Karakusi, under secretary in the (?Pristina) Secretariat for Internal Affairs, informed the members of the Presidium that the miners are still in the shaft, but after they heard that Rahman Morina and Husamedin Azemi have resigned, announced that they will come out soon. In fact they are still waiting for Ali Sukrija to submit his resignation via telex.

Karakusi also said that during the day there have been sharp reactions by Serbs and Montenegrins. A protest meeting was held in Kosovo Polje, and the miners of the Kopaonik mine in Leposavic are not leaving the pit. In fact it was the first shift that has not come out. The first shift was soon joined by the second shift miners. They are supporting the provincial committee leadership and do not want to accept the resignations by Morina and Azemi.

Since it was assessed that the session should not be held before the Stari Trg miners come out of the pit, the session was stopped, and will resume at 1800 [1700 GMT].

Sukrija Submits Resignation

AU2702182089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] We have just received word news that Ali Sukrija, member of the LCY Central Committee, has sent a telex message to the Stari Trg miners. The message contains his resignation from membership in the LCY Central Committee.

It is expected that after this, the miners will come out of the shaft. If this takes place, the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will hold a session to discuss the resignation which Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, has submitted.

We have learned that the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium is just starting now.

Text of Sukrija Resignation

LD2702204389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2012 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—You made my resignation from the LCY Central Committee a condition for leaving the pit, and I am offering it in this way, profoundly concerned for your health and lives. This is the text of the resignation of LCY Central Committee member Ali Sukrija, which was sent to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and to TANJUG.

Ali Sukrija today offered his resignation from the LCY Central Committee at the request of the Stari Trg miners, who have not emerged from the pit since Monday.

Text of Morina Resignation

LD2702154789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 27 Feb 89

["Full Text of Rahman Morina's Resignation"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Rahman Morina of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee today resigned in response to an ultimatum by the Stari Trg miners. The following is the full text of his resignation:

Comrades, miners from Stari Trg, I was very upset to learn that you are convinced that I myself am responsible for the state of your health and for your lives. I know that you have made your coming out of the pit conditional on my resignation. Your demand is the only reason why I am resigning. I want to assure you that from the first day of your occupation, I have been concerned about your health and have felt sympathy with your families. To save your lives and protect your health, I have already offered to resign, and on this occasion I am submitting my resignation to you. I have already informed the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee about this.

Since I have now submitted the resignation you asked for, I plead with you to leave your pit. This is in your own interest, in the interest of Kosovo, of the Albanian nationality, of your future, and of the unity of our country, which must continue along Tito's path. I ask you to do this to safeguard the glorious traditions of your mine. The LC will thoroughly examine the reasons that drove you to take such steps, Rahman Morina, president of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, stressed in his resignation.

Azemi on Resignation

LD2702124289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Husamedin Azemi, president of the Presidium of the Municipal Committee of the Pristina LC, who during this forum's special session today tendered his resignation, said in a brief explanation that he did so out of moral considerations and as a result of blackmail and psychological pressure.

Azemi said that the demand for his resignation is a demand with which an attempt was made to maintain the continuity of a policy that had been assessed at all party levels as unsuccessful. This policy, he added, is also directed against the interests of his nationality.

During the discussion, which is still proceeding, the members of the Presidium of the Municipal Committee of the Pristina LC who are Serb and Montenegrin nationals have not accepted Husamedin Azemi's resignation, warning that to do so would amount to the failure of the LCY policy in Kosovo. Some of them have intimated their intention of resigning if the demand for Husamedin Azemi's resignation is accepted.

However, members of the Presidium of the Municipal Committee of the Pristina LC who are Albanian nationals think that Azemi's resignation is a necessity which must be accepted to save the lives of the miners.

300 Threaten To Emigrate

LD2702201489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Prizren, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—This evening in Prizren, Serbs and Montenegrins held a protest meeting. They issued a demand to the Presidiums of the LCY Central Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee to refrain from giving in to the demands of the Trepca miners, because, they stressed, this is in direct opposition to the LCY policy.

If the requests for the withdrawal of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija do not cease, we will be forced to collectively emigrate from Kosovo—this is the message of about 300 Serbs and Montenegrins from the Prizren municipality.

Miners Leave Pits

LD2702205389 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Dear listeners, we have our colleague Delai Kurtes on the line from Pristina. Good evening, colleague Kurtes.

[Kurtes] Good Evening. Happy news from Pristina. After 8 days in their shafts, Trepca miners have finally come to the surface. At the moment the happiest people in Stari Trg are the miners' children and other members of their families, since a great tragedy has been prevented, which could have gone down in the world history of mining.

Following this news, 1,700 miners from the mines in Goles, Novo Brdo, Kisnica, and [name indistinct] are expected to leave their pits. It is also expected that about 10,000 students from Pristina University will also end their hunger strike. Some of them are quite exhausted and some very sick. Factory machines should start working again in order to resume normal production in all work organizations in Kosovo.

The first miners, who spent 8 days in the pit, were brought to the surface on stretchers. That is all for the time being from Pristina.

Further Report

AU2702211289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] The Stari Trg miners have started to come out of the shaft. The first group of miners appeared at the central entrance of the Trepca mine in Stari Trg carrying a picture of Tito and flags.

The event that all of Yugoslavia has been waiting for for days started 1 hour ago. The entire process of 1,300 miners of Albanian nationality leaving the shaft should be completed by midnight.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium will hold a session tomorrow morning at 0900 [0800 GMT]. This session is supposed to discuss the security situation in Kosovo.

No Reaction From Students

LD2702222289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2122 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—The students gathered in the 25 May sports hall in Pristina have still not reacted to a decision by Trepca miners to end the strike and leave the pits. Small groups of young people have begun gathering outside the hall, but journalists are still not allowed to enter it. About 6,000 students are waiting for official information from the miners about the end of the strike. Only then will they decide whether to end their sit-in in the hall, which they started on Tuesday.

Serbians, Montenegrins Initiate Protests

TANJUG Report

LD2802094989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0849 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Following last night's resolution of the drama in Stari Trg, another mining drama has begun. Miners of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality at the Trepca pits on the Kosovo side of Kopaonik mountain last night and this morning continued their stay in the pits, and are refusing to come out until high level federal officials come to see them. However, they are continuing to work.

Rumors that Slobodan Milosevic had visited the mine in Leposavic, where 800 miners are refusing to leave the pit, proved to be incorrect.

Workers of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in many other collectives in Kosovo began work stoppages today. Lessons conducted in Serbo-Croat in several schools have also been stopped. Throughout Kosovo, villages where the Serbian and Montenegrin population are in the majority, people continue to gather. In several collectives in Kosovo, Albanians are also on strike. Today's traffic in Kosovo is running normally for the most part, and all social institutions and commerce are continuing. Students have dispersed from the 25 May sports hall in Pristina. The situation in Pristina does not show visible signs of disturbance, and apparently life is proceeding normally.

Kopaonik Miners Issue Demands

LD2702123489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Leposavic, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Eight hundred miners of Serb and Montenegrin nationality from the Kopaonik lead and zinc mine in Leposavic, which is part of the Trepca combine, today announced their intention to strike, and submitted their 10 demands to journalists. The first shift workers went down into the pit and said that they will remain there at the end of their shift. They said that the miners on other shifts will join them and that members of their families will go also into the pit.

The demands by the Leposavic miners have been formulated in 10 points and are at variance with those made by the miners in Stari Trg. They demand:
—that the strike of miners of Albanian nationality in Stari Trg and their manipulation cease unconditionally because their demands are in the spirit of the counterrevolution;
—that Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi not tender their resignations, because if they do we will stay in the pit and do so on behalf of all suffering and expelled Serbs and Montenegrins and of all progressive Albanians in Kosovo;
—that representatives of the SFRY Presidency, of the LCY Central Committee, of the Republic of Serbia, and of the Province of Kosovo come and see us immediately;
—that the stands of the LCY Central Committee, of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, and of the 22nd session of the PC of the Kosovo LC not be desisted from at any price;
—that the names of the people who organized and inspired the demonstrations and unrest in November 1988 be published and;
—that Aziz Abrasi and Burhan Kavaja be replaced and the procedure initiated to separate the Kopaonik mine from the Trepca combine if proven separatists and nationalists continue to be their managers;
—that peaceful and secure life is ensured to all Serbs and Montenegrins and all progressive Albanians;
—We render full support for the leadership of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and the PC of the Kosovo LC and demand that the changes in the Serbian Constitution be carried out consistently and by the agreed deadline and;
—that normal education should be ensured for our children in Pristina and other secondary schools in Kosovo territory."

There are four excavation pits at the Kopaonik lead and zinc mines and flotation works. They are about 30 kilometers away from Stari Trg, in the direction of Raska.

Kopaonik Strike Continues

LD2702195989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1856 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Leposavic, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—In the Trepca mine pits on Kopaonik mountain, some 800 Serbian and Montenegrin miners have threatened, like those at Stari Trg, to stay in the pit if the demands submitted via the manipulated Albanian miners are met.

The first shift of 400 miners has not come out after the end of the shift, and they have been joined by the second shift. It has been announced that the third shift will stay down as well. At the same time, about 400 Serbian, Montenegrin, and Muslim workers at another Trepca mine, Kisnica i Novo Brdo, in whose pits there are also Albanian miners, have threatened that they will go to Leposavic and join those in the Kopaonik mine.

The Kisnica miners stress that the alleged hunger strike by miners in Stari Trg is a manipulation not just of Yugoslav, but of world public opinion, because the miners of Stari Trg are receiving food regularly from the workers' canteen.

Further Strike Coverage

AU2702220689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] The Leposavic miners are still inside the pit. The first shift was joined by the second. The third shift is expected to do the same. About 400 workers of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Muslim nationality from other Trepca mines, the Kisnica and the Novo Brdo, threatened that they will go to Leposavic to join the miners in the pit.

Some 800 miners of Serb and Montenegrin nationality from the Kopaonik lead and zinc mine in Leposavic presented journalists with a list of ten demands: They state, among other things, that they are opposed to the resignations of Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi. They demand that they be visited by the representatives of the SFRY Presidency and the Central Committees of the LCY and Serbia, and the Provincial Committee of Kosovo. They also demand the the names of the organizers and inspirators of the November demonstrations be revealed.

Students March Toward Assembly

LD2802090789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0055 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—About 5,000 students who set out on foot from the Veljko Vlahovic student settlement toward the SFRY Assembly have now reached the bridge at Brankova Street. They are protesting the latest events in Kosovo; extending support to the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee, the party and state leadership of the SR of Serbia, and the party Presidium and Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo; and calling on them to persevere in the implementation—on the basis of the Constitution and the law—of measures undertaken to preserve order and the system in Kosovo.

The students also paid tribute to the three Kosovo officials—Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija.

According to Miljkan Karlicic, president of the action conference of the LC at the Veljko Vlahovic student settlement, it was envisaged that the students would express their protest at a 28 February meeting which, it was planned, was to have been held in the afternoon. However, they gathered spontaneously in the student settlement immediately after the second television news cast, and set out on foot for the Federal Assembly.

The students in the column are carrying state and party flags, and banners with the words "Bread and peace for all" and "Yugoslavia—the peoples will repay you."

Support for Leaders Voiced

LD2802024289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0133 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—Around midnight [2300 GMT] in Belgrade's student town some 5,000 students rallied in a protest over the latest events in Kosovo, giving support to the demands by Serbs and Montenegrins in the province.

The students walked towards the Assembly of Yugoslavia building shouting slogans like "Students have risen," "Take to streets," "Up, people," "Kosovo is ours," "Tito-party" and others.

Heading the column of students is Belgrade University Rector Slobodan Unkovic and Education Minister in the Republican Government of Serbia Danilo Markovic.

The students also urge the State Presidency of Yugoslavia, the party's Central Committee, the party and state Presidencies of Serbia, and the Presidencies of Kosovo and Kosovo party to persevere in the application of measures for the preservation of peace and order in Kosovo on the basis of the constitution and law.

They also give credit to Kosovo leaders Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi and Ali Sukrija and protest over their resignations.

Workers Join Students

LD2802095489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Several thousand workers of the first shift of the Beograd footwear factory and the Zemun Zmaj agricultural machinery enterprise arrived at about 0930 at Usce Park. At the head of their column they are carrying Yugoslav, Serbian, and party flags, and they are shouting the slogan "We are going to Kosovo." The participants in this procession also carried banners saying, among other things, "In whose name does the Slovene and Croatian leadership speak," and "A united Serbia, a united Yugoslavia."

After staying for a short time at the park, the workers continued toward the SFRY Assembly.

300,000 Estimated at Gathering

LD2802081989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0748 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—About 300,000 workers are now at Usce Park [in New Belgrade]. The students and workers gathered outside the SFRY Assembly were called on to move toward Usce Park, because the space outside the assembly building is too small for all the participants in the protest meeting. At present the students are refusing to do this.

Jovic at Belgrade Protest

LD2802062289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0546 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—"We will not allow a dismemberment of Yugoslavia," President of the Assembly of Serbia Dr Borislav Jovic told a protest meeting of some 20,000 students and Belgrade inhabitants gathered early this morning in front of the Yugoslav parliament building to support efforts by the Yugoslav and Serbian leaderships to settle an exceptionally difficult situation in Kosovo Province.

These days, when we are ahead of new triumphs over Albanian separatism and nationalism, when separatists and nationalists are driven in a corner, their resistance reappears intensified but we will put it down—Jovic said at the meeting which ended at about 0500 local time [0400 GMT].

We are witnesses, he added, that not only Albanian separatism has risen against the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, but also all those who do not have Yugoslavia at heart have risen against Yugoslavia. He said that the leadership of Serbia, republic of which Kosovo Province is part, was profoundly confident that it was fighting "not only for the interests of Serbian people but also for those of entire Yugoslavia."

Jovic emphasized that the Republic of Serbia's policy comprises not only the efforts to have Serbs and Montenegrins protected from terrorism they are exposed to in Kosovo, but also the endeavours for unified Serbia and Yugoslavia. He said that Serbia was wholeheartedly sustaining the efforts by the Yugoslav state and party leaderships towards the settlement of conditions in Kosovo, and was expecting that the federal leadership would not yield in its efforts.

Participants in the meeting were told that Slobodan Milosevic, chief of Serbian Communists, was spending the night at Leposavic in Kosovo where about 800 Serbian and Montenegrin miners yesterday went on a strike in the mine pit to counter the Kosovo Stari Trg mine pit sit-in of ethnic Albanian miners which ended last evening.

It was also announced that a student delegation this morning will be received by President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Raif Dizdarevic and president of the Presidency of Serbia Petar Gracanin.

Different Nationalities Protest in Kosovo Polje

LD2702175889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—In the Kosovo Polje local community, people of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities and of Albanian nationality today held separate protest meetings.

The meeting of people of Albanian nationality was held at the railway station, from which a telegram was sent to the SFRY Presidency expressing support for the Stari Trg miners and calling on Husamedin Azemi, Ali Sukrija, and Rahman Morina to resign.

Freight trains are at a standstill in the Kosovo Polje railway station due to a work stoppage by workers of Albanian nationality.

In the culture center, not far from the station, a meeting was held of people of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities at which a proclamation was made containing three demands. They call on all the representatives of Kosovo's Serbs and Montenegrins in sociopolitical organizations and organs of power in the province and in scientific and cultural institutions to tender their irrevocable resignations immediately. In this way they would distance themselves from the policy directed against the LCY designed to force all Serbs and Montenegrins out of Kosovo and Metohija and to destroy Yugoslavia.

The Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje lodged a sharp protest with the Croatian LC Central Committee and the Presidium of Croatian Trade Unions over the statements they made yesterday which, it is stressed, are grist for the mill of Albanian nationalism and separatism. The proclamation calls on the Croatian people to support Kosovo's Serbs and Montenegrins and their desire to live in peace in this country. Yugoslavia's top officials are also called upon to visit Kosovo Polje and "to tell us what to do next."

The proclamation ends by saying that the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje will stay in the culture center until their demands are met.

Developments in this local community in Pristina are taking place amid increased security.

Further Report

AU2702192689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] The citizens of the local commune of Kosovo Polje held two protest meetings today. Albanians gathered at the railroad station and sent a telegram to the SFRY Presidency expressing their support of the Stari Trg miners.

Serbs and Montenegrins gathered in the cultural hall. They issued a statement containing three demands. They demanded that all representatives of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in the provincial sociopolitical organizations and organs tender their irrevocable resignations in order to dissociate themselves from the policy directed against the LC: the policy that is directly leading to an ethnically pure Kosovo and the breaking up of Yugoslavia. Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje energetically protest against yesterday's statement of the Croatian LC Central Committee and the Croatian Trade Union Presidium which support Albanian nationalism and separatism.

The people of Croatia are invited to extend their support to Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins so that they can live in peace. In addition, an invitation has been sent to the leading politicians to come to Kosovo Polje. Serbs and Montenegrins will stay in the cultural hall until their demands have been met.

Children To Be Evacuated

AU2802101089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje and surrounding villages are preparing the evacuation of their children, mainly to Serbia proper and Vojvodina. The SAWP activists of the 16th and 17th local communes are preparing the list of children and are negotiating transportation with Belgrade and Novi Sad transportation organizations.

At present, in the Kosovo Polje cultural hall and around it, there are some 1,000 Serbs, Montenegrins, and Muslims who are mainly protesting against the forced resignation of the leading men from the Pristina and Kosovo party organizations. Most of them, some 500, spent the entire night in the hall. This morning they were joined by other citizens, among which are 300 workers of the Pristina railroad organization.

Militia, Tanks, Planes Reported in Kosovo

AU2702144089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] The atmosphere of tension and expectations is continuing in Kosovo. Miners are striking for the 8th day. Almost 30,000 ethnic Albanian workers were also continuing their protest out of solidarity today. Students are also striking and school lectures in Albanian have been interrupted, while lectures in Serbo-Croatian are being conducted with difficulty.

Intensified militia patrols in all-terrain vehicles can be noticed along Kosovo roads. A long column of military transporters full of members of the armed forces arrived in Pec from the direction of Pristina this morning, while a long column of tanks is standing at the barracks on the road leading out of Pristina toward Titova Mitrovica. Fighter planes have flown over the town several times. An increased number of militiamen and army troops can be noticed in the town as well. Intensified militia guards are standing in front of more important buildings in the town and armed guards are standing in front of military buildings.

Protests in Kosovo, which have lasted for several days, are certainly affecting normal life in the province. Many shops are closed, there are difficulties with food supplies, and there were short blackouts this morning, as well as last night.

Political activities in the country in connection with the difficult situation in Kosovo are being closely followed here. The appeal of the provincial Presidency was read to the striking miners, but there is no report on how they received it, although we have spent several hours in the mine itself, that is, more precisely, in front of the gates.

Delegations follow each other into the mine, but they are returning from the shaft without anything being done, so many people who are following events on the spot have the impression that political activities are having almost no effect.

More Tanks Allegedly Spotted

AU2802125089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Telephone report by Dusan Radulovic from Pristina]

[Text] There is a lot to report from Pristina. Studio 17 of Belgrade radio is just being sent a report by my colleague Milivoje Mihajlovic, who spent all morning in Kosovo Polje, where the meeting has ended. More details will be available later. A mass emigration from Kosovo Polje has been announced to take place tomorrow morning at 0700 [0600 GMT].

What I have to say is that about ½ hour ago a second column of tanks arrived in Pristina from the direction of Skopje. The tanks passed through the streets of Pristina, some went to Kosovo Polje, and others went through Pristina to a unknown destination. This really looked like a mighty column; there were some 50 tanks which, as I have already said, passed through Pristina city center. Everybody could see them. This has perhaps had some effect on the atmosphere here in Pristina, which appears quiet. My personal impression is that the tension could literally be felt in the air.

Colleague Jovic is at the Kopaonik mine in Leposavic, where he is expected to phone from later because the Serb and Montenegrin miners are continuing their strike. So far they have refused to be joined by their families as was announced earlier. They are working in the pit, which means that they are not holding a strike. They are only refusing to come out of the pit.

Presidency Announces Special Measures for Kosovo

LD2702134889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency today ordered the adoption of special measures [posebne mere] in Kosovo for the protection of the constitutional system, public order and peace, personal and property security, and the safety of all the citizens of the province. These measures are already being applied.

The Presidency issued the following statement:

A session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade on 26 and 27 February, presided over by President Raif Dizdarevic. The presidents of the Presidencies of the socialist republics and of the socialist autonomous provinces, as well as the top officials of the federation, took part.

Discussing the current political-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the SFRY Presidency again paid the greatest attention and concern to a discussion of all possible ways to save the miners, who (?after stopping work), remained for several days at their pit faces, and to preserve their health and work. Proceeding mainly from humanitarian reasons, the Presidency asked everyone to make a contribution to the speediest possible exit of the miners from the pit faces.

Coordinated Yugoslav activity on overcoming the present situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which has been in operation for a considerable time, was also discussed, as was the elimination of the reasons which led to this situation, particularly the normalization of the situation and the restoration of confidence among all the nations and nationalities in the province. It was stressed that it is of special importance for all socialist forces to channel their efforts toward preventing all types of nationalist activities.

Proceeding from the assessment that further aggravation of the politico-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo had occured, and that specific activity had taken place which posed a direct threat to the social system established by the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency ordered the adoption of special measures to protect the constitutional system, public order and peace, personal and property security, and the safety of all citizens and social property, particularly objects important to the functioning of the economy in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the normalization of the work of state organs and organizations in the economy and in social activities.

The implementation of these measures began immediately.

Suvar Speaks at News Conference

AU2702195989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Karol Grosz, president of the MSZMP, today met at the Yugoslav-Hungarian border. At the news conference held immediately after the talks with Grosz, an AFP journalist asked the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to comment on the latest measures which the SFRY Presidency introduced today in Kosovo.

[Begin Suvar recording] As you know, production and work in Kosovo have stopped to a great extent; some of the institutions and activities that are needed for minimum, normal, everyday life are under threat. The state—if it exists, which it must—must make sure that those institutions necessary for the minimum necessities in the lives of citizens function in Kosovo as well. This means electricity, medical care, public transportation, a minimum number of staff in certain institutions and work organizations of vital interest. According to a special law that we have had for a long time, a work obligation has been introduced for workers. Workers cannot be at their workplace and not work. This is so that for instance, thermopower stations are not put out of production.

These measures could be described as extraordinary measures, but I do not know whether you are familiar with the system of extraordinary measures in our country, which mainly mean supervision in various work organizations, the control of traffic, the banning of public gatherings outside factories and institutions—which have been in force in Kosovo for some time—the announcement of public gatherings except theater performances, cinema performances and similar things. This is what has been introduced in Kosovo in order to prevent possibly deeper disturbances and possibly greater threats to socially owned property and people's lives. [end recording]

Preparedness in Belgrade Urged

LD2702135189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—In Kosovo the situation is becoming more critical by the hour, and it is possible that groups of citizens will travel from Kosovo to Belgrade to state their demands. The capital must be prepared, if this does happen, to accept these people and to ensure that they are able to make contact with the organs to which they wish to speak. This was stressed at today's session of the Belgrade Executive Council. It was also stated that the capital city is ready to extend all possible assistance to the federal, republican, and provincial organs.

Miorad Unkovic, president of the Executive Council, stressed that no form of pressure or ultimatum must be accepted, particularly those aimed against the system. Everything must be done to enable us to return to a democratic course of development in the country, he said.

The session called for the Kosovo miners to do everything to ensure that reason prevails, to come out of the pit, and to return to their duties, which would make a great contribution to the stabilization of the situation in the province.

Slovenes Protest Action

AU2702171289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] A protest meeting is being held in the Cankar Hall in Ljubljana against the introduction of the state of emergency in Kosovo. Ljubljana radio and television carries a live rely of the meeting which is organized by sociopolitical organizations which work under the auspices of the SAWP.

The participants were welcomed by Joze Osterman on behalf of the Ljubljana SAW,P who said that a statement of solidarity with the Kosovo miners was today signed by more than 100,000 people throughout Slovenia.

Slovenia's Kucan Opposed to 'State of Emergency'

LD2802020089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0046 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—Slovenian Communists chief Milan Kucan and President of the republics Socialist Alliance Joze Smole tonight declared themselves against the possible introduction of a state of emergency in Kosovo Province which has been rocked by ethnic Albanians strikes and protests since last Monday.

"We are raising our voice against the guns which lead to states of emergency, deeply confident that sooner or later the will be triumphant of the people, nations and nationalities who want to live in Yugoslavia in concord, peace and together, respecting one another," Kucan told a meeting of over 2,000 people in a hall in Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia. [sentence as received]

Special measures cannot achieve anything, while direct democracy and political pluralism are Yugoslavia's only perspective, assessed Smole. Slovenia was equally strongly opposing the anti-Albanian as well as anti-Serbian feelings, he added.

At the time the meeting in Ljubljana was being held, the eight-day strike of 1,300 Albabnian miners in Kosovo's Stari Trg lead and zinc mine pit had not yet begun to cease (in the meantime, miners began to leave the pit as three Kosovo party officials resigned) so that Slovenian solidarity with the strikers was permeated with pronounced care for saving human lives.

The miners underground, said Kucan, for us are not Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins—they are workers, men compelled by misfortune to choose a "Gandhi-style" revolt. So long as miners are in the pit, said Kucan, humaneness must be in the fore and the "struggle for power ought to be silent."

The Slovenian Commuinists chief was against the "forcing out" of constitutional changes and dimissals of leaders by "threats and ultimatums." He was also against equivocal criteria which "recognize revolutionary character to Serbian meetings, while there is an a priori doubt concerning Albanians."

Kucan deems that the present changes are necessary in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, which has Kosovo in its composition. He added that the changes by themselves do not abolish Kosovo's autonomy and assessed that, with their strike at Stari Trg, the Kosovo miners are defending the rights of "citizens and Communists of this province to elect their leadership themselves."

In his words, a policy aimed against any of the nations could not gain Slovenia's support, and this held good for "anti-Albanian policy in Serbia, and anti-Serbian policy in Kosovo."

Kucan also assessed that what was going on in the country was "a quiet coup" which persistently changes the character and essence of Yugoslavia created in Tito's days. In the creation of some new Yugoslavia, Kucan said in conclusion, "Slovenian Communists do not want to take part."

Kosovo LC Provincial Presidium Begins Session

LD2802094189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0859 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Summary From Poor Reception] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Djumret Seljmani, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, said at the start of an extraordinary session of the Presidium that the situation in the province is extremely complex. Seljmani concluded that the events in Stari Trg and related events are deliberate acts by Albanian nationalists and separatists. The victims are the miners and the working class. Also participating in the session are Miomir Grbovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Ljubomir Varoslija, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee; Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee, and other activists from the LCY and the Serbian LC. The current political and security situation in the province is on the session's agenda.

Sekulic, Bozovic Resign

LD2802120189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Tomislav Sekulic, secretary of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, today announced his intention to resign from his present post. He did this during a debate at a session of the Presidium, which is under way.

Sekulic explained his intention by his disapproval of yesterday's resignations of Pristina and Kosovo LC top officials, Husamedin Azemi and Rahman Morina, and of Ali Sukrija's decision to relinquish his membership in the LCY Central Committee.

Tomislav Sekulic said that the enforced resignations came as a result of a premeditated conspiracy against Yugoslavia, and that Azemi, Morina, and Sukrija were victims of nationalists and separatist forces within the Albanian nationality.

Taking part in the debate, Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium—who resigned yesterday—appealed to Serbian and Montenegrin members of this executive-political organ not to resign, saying that this would not help the efforts to stabilize the situation in Kosovo.

Djordje Bozovic, member of the Presidium, has also announced his intention to resign.

Further Report on Session

AU2802120389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Kosta Krajincanic report on the "extraordinary session" of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the LC of Kosovo held in Pristina]

[Text] The Provincial Committee Presidium of the LC of Kosovo is discussing the current political situation in the wake of the Trepca miners' strike and the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija.

The situation is assessed as very complex, even more complex than it was yesterday, as Jusuf Karakusi, under secretary of the provincial secretariat for internal affairs, said. He said that in all places in Kosovo where they still live, Serbs and Montenegrins continued their meetings protesting against the resignations and the general situation in the province. There are also mass boycotts of work and lectures in schools.

In his introductory speech, Djumrek Salmani said that there is no doubt that the strike in Stari Trg mine was organized by Albanian separatists and nationalists.

Tomislav Sekulic, secretary of the provincial committee Presidium, is of the opinion that one must immediately find an answer to the question of who manipulated peaceful and honest miners with a view to achieving aims that are contrary to the LCY policy. The revolution in Kosovo has not been lost, only contested in a way, Sekulic said. He did not hide his indignation that some parts of the country support the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and mentioned the meeting held in Ljubljana last night.

Tomislav Sekulic and Djordje Bozovic announced that they will resign from the posts they hold in the provincial party leadership.

General Andrija (?Silic), commander of the Pristina garrison, demanded that the Presidium interrupt its session and that the Committee for All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection meet, that the Kosovo situation should be assessed objectively and that specific measures be taken in accordance with the SFRY Presidency's order. He also warned that not one body in Kosovo, except for the provincial Presidency, had established its specific tasks in accordance with the order, that is, the special measures. He also warned that although the dramatic situation continues in the province, this session is also all talk.

300 Ethnic Albanians March in Ljubljana

LD2702200889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Immediately before the start of the gathering "against the introduction of emergency measures, for peace and life together in Kosovo" which is being held today in Cankarev Dom, representatives of Albanians living in Slovenia made their way in a procession through the center of Ljubljana to express solidarity with the miners from Trepca. At the head of the procession, which was made up of about 300 Albanians, pictures of Tito and Kardelj were carried, and all the participants in the procession wore red carnations. The march, which took place in a completley orderly fashion and without the shouting of slogans, ended outside Cankarev Dom. The march participants joined the participants in the gathering in Cankarev Dom.

Demands by Bodies on Kosovo Situation Noted

Pristina Criticizes Croat View

AU2602202989 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] The end to the drama in Stari Trg is not yet in sight, despite the fact that this was announced today. Kosovo and all of Yugoslavia were waiting for this all day today, but the miners are still insisting on their political demands and are not leaving the pit. Many members of Albanian nationality have expressed their solidarity with the miners, while Serbs and Montenegrins are of the opinion that this is pressure for the continuation of the erroneous policy in Kosovo.

The Yugoslav leadership is resolute in its stand not to yield to the strikers. However, some unfounded explanations came from some republics, primarily from the sessions of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Croatian Trade Union Organization Presidium, according to which the Kosovo leaders should, in the name of communism, resign. It is obvious that this would mean giving in to pressure and blackmail, which is to say deviating from the adopted stances of the highest party and state organs of the country.

Pristina Criticizes Resignations

AU2702132889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] The resignation of Husamedin Azemi, president of the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium, has been accepted. The acting president will be Zivojin Mitrovic, while Azemi remains a member of the Presidium until the next session of the committee.

Members of the communal Presidium of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality announced at the session that they will submit their collective resignation if the names of the organizers and inspirers of the November events in Kosovo are not publicized.

Rakovica Workers Make Demands

LD2802121989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade 28 Feb (TANJUG)—On behalf of the sociopolitical and self-managing organizations of the machine and tractor factory, Vlado Janjic read out the demands of the Rakovica workers. He said that today the workers of this collective took into consideration the great dissatisfaction with the situation in the country, particularly in Kosovo, and decided to organize the protest march to the SFRY Assembly and put forward their demands.

Janjic read out the following demands on behalf of the Rakovica workers:
1. The united and resolute implementations of the conclusions of all state and party organs of Yugoslavia and Serbia concerning Kosovo.
2. The adoption of the Serbian constitution as a matter of urgency, as proposed by the Serbian Assembly.
3. No giving in to any of the demands of the counterrevolution in Kosovo.
4. We demand that within 48 hours the organizers and proponents of the November demonstrations in Kosovo be named, and we demand that they be called to account criminally.
5. We do not accept the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija.
6. The stances of Slovenia are rejected because they directly encourage separatists and support counterrevolution in Kosovo. The Slovene demands are antisocialist and anti-Yugoslav.
7. We support all the demands of Belgrade University made today outside the assembly.
8. We will not allow the already organized coalition in the country to break up Yugoslavia and divide the working class along national lines.

Croatian Unions Voice Views

LD2602193389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—At a session in Zagreb this afternoon, the Presidium of the Trade Unions Council of Croatia demanded in the name of saving workers' lives that Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija tender their irrevocable resignations. Expressing astonishment and deep human emotions regarding all that has been happening to the Stari Trg miners, the Presidium members stressed that nothing can replace human life—no office, no forums. No one has the right to risk workers' lives.

The Presidium sent messages to the Kosovo Trade Unions Council, Serbian Trade Unions Council, Yugoslav Trade Unions Council, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and the SFRY Presidency informing them about its stances. At the same time, it is stressed that these resignations would be a moral human act, a precondition for miners to leave the pit and for a solution to be found in accordance with human reason and workers' dignity. The named leaders were sharply criticized because they came to Kosovo on the 5th day and because Milosevic and Morina, together with Suvar, should have gone down to the pit among the miners. Criticism was expressed because there were no reactions from the Trade Unions Council of Yugoslavia, whose president is traveling abroad while dramatic events are taking place in the country.

An appeal was made to the working class of Kosovo not to allow the endangering of vital services for work and life in the province.

Serbian Presidency Issues Communique on Kosovo

LD2802012489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2038 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee believe that it is vital to take all measures to protect the lives of the miners in Stari Trg. At the same time, the Presidency and the Presidium warn that the several-day long strikes and the general paralysis of life and work in this province have seriously endangered the established order as set out in the SFRY Constitution.

The full text of the communique from the session of the Presidency and the Presidium reads:

At today's joint session, presided over by Petar Gracanin and Slobodan Milosevic, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee considered the political-security situation in Kosovo and the republic.

The two Presidiums assessed that the political-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo has deteriorated to such a degree that it is directly threatening order, as set out in the SFRY Constitution. The policy of the LCY and the policy of brotherhood, unity, and equality is being openly opposed by unacceptable political demands and the appearance of aggressive Albanian separatists and nationalists. The several-day-long strikes and the general paralysis of life and work in the province has caused enormous material damage, and have seriously endangered social property and the functioning of the public services and brought into question the personal and property safety and security of the working people and citizens in Kosovo. The two Presidiums assess that the emergency measures introduced today, which went into force immediately, ensure the normal functioning of the institutions in the province and guarantee the safety of all working people and citizens.

In connection with the miners' strike in Stari Trg, the two Presidiums believe that it is essential to take all measures to protect their lives and health.

The Presidiums assess that what is happening is the crude manipulation of people, calculated to halt the process, which has begun, of implementing LC policy and consolidating the recently renewed leadership of the Kosovo LC, which has demonstrated its readiness, firmness, and resolution in implementing LCY policy, in smashing the counterrevolution and the forces of Albanian separatism and nationalism, and in preventing the terror and violence which has been causing the Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate from Kosovo, and in struggling for brotherhood and unity.

The organizers of the strikes calculated in advance that they would make their political demands conditional on the lives and health of the miners, convinced that, confronted by such ultimatum-like demands, the organs of the state and the party would have to give in. They forget that the responsibility for the lives of the miners and their health is borne above all by those who allowed the miners to stay in the pits and become the victims of the darkest plans of Albanian fascist-style separatism.

This example best demonstrates the extent to which the Albanian nationalists—who callously abuse and risk the health and lives of the miners, are being malicious to the Albanian nationality. They are demonstrating their callousness not only toward the Serbs and Montenegrins, but also toward members of their own nationality. It is all the same to them who they sacrifice for their dark goals. Hence, those who have misused the miners and used them in a political struggle for the smashing of Serbia and Yugoslavia must be made to answer for this in a criminal court. The bitterness of the public should affect not the miners—because they are the victims—but those who use them for political blackmail. If the LC were to allow Communists who fight for the policy of brotherhood and unity to be removed from their political posts, it would lose its reputation and the confidence of the working class, the working people, and the citizens; and it would depart from the political scene never to return. Hence, the two Presidiums believe that no kind of blackmail or pressure can be accepted. The measures taken are a guarantee that the future of the Serbs and Montenegrins and of all working people and citizens in Kosovo will not be abandoned to the whims or will of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

Great bitterness and condemnation, as well as the most profound concern, have been provoked by the stances of individual political organs in some environments who, under the guise of ostensible concerns for the health of the miners, ignore the hostile background of the policy of Albanian separatism. It is irresponsibly overlooked that this, objectively speaking, means the smashing of Yugoslav action in Kosovo, and plays into the hands of the Albanian nationalists and separatists.

And while public anxiety has not yet been calmed as a result of the well-known proposals to reexamine the assessments of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, it is now again being proposed that LCY policy on Kosovo be reexamined. These requests, at a moment when the broadest action is being conducted to realize LCY policy on Kosovo, represent direct confrontation with this policy.

Concern for the health of the miners should not be separated from concern for the hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Montenegrins who are threatened by their demands, and, in the last analysis, concern for the survival of Yugoslavia. It is impermissable to support a blackmail which endangers and leads to the break-up of Yugoslavia. Too many sacrifaices have been made for Yugoslavia for it to be brought into question under any or anyone's conditions, blackmail and pressure. Nationalist terror and violence should not be allowed to take place in any part of Yugoslavia.

At the very least it is a sorry state of affairs that these leaderships and their public have failed to react so rapidly and energetically for a full 8 years to the rapes of Serbian and Montenegrin girls, the burning of cemeteries, and the mass driving out of Serbs and Montenegrins from their country. For the first time, we are hearing some people express concern—and concern for those who protest against the changes to the Serbian Constitution, the aim of which is to restore statehood and dignity to Serbia. The fact that there is a coincidence of views between the stances of individual fora from some parts of our country and the published stances of the propaganda of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania causes great bitterness. The protagonists of these stances should ask themselves with which and what kind of forces they are becoming allies.

Leaderships which embroil Communists and citizens in such divisions bear responsibility for the future of the country. The two Presidia call on the SFRY Presidency and the LCY CC Presidium to urgently make their full contribution so that the leading organs in the republics and sociopolitical organizations take a responsible stance vis-a-vis the interests of the country and vis-a-vis the uniformly adopted policy of the LCY, and against blackmail and abuse. Any other behavior would serve to further erode our unity and weaken Yugoslavia.

The principle of single-nationality majority decision-making is impermissible in LCY policy because the Kosovo LC is not the national organization of any single nationality, but a class organization. A single-nationality LC would simply not be an LC.

The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee stress that the measures taken will ensure the protection of the constitutional order, the integrity of Yugoslavia, the protection of social property, and normal production in vital facilities, and the security of working people and citizens in Kosovo. At the same time, the two Presidia stress that the maximum amount of mobilization of all subjective forces, of all working people and citizens, and of all the nations and nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and primarily in Kosovo, is needed in their work and political tasks, so that they might implement the decisions of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, as well as the decisions of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. In this way, the battle can be won against the counterrevolution which, through blackmail, manipulation, and the unprecedented and callous sacrificing of people, is attempting to realize its idea about a greater Albania both on the territory of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The battle for LCY policy in Kosovo, will be won together with the working people and citizens of all nations and nationalities by the LCY and not by the Albanian nationalists and separatists. With or without support, the LC and citizens of Serbia will not allow anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav forces to win the battle in Kosovo. There will be a victory for justice for all people, the interests of Serbia, and the equality of all its citizens.“

Macedonian LC Central Committee Session Held

LD2802003489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1017 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Skopje, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—The 24th session of the Macedonian LC Central Committee today was devoted to the current socioeconomic and political situation in the country and the republic. Judging from the documents for today's debate and the introductory report, the situation is exceptionally exacerbated and could lead to dramatic outcomes. This deterioration is seriously destroying the country's stability and bringing into question the constitutional order and the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] character and the fundamental principles on which Yugoslavia is based.

The introductory speaker, Mihail Danev, secretary of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium, immediately assessed at the beginning that the generators of the crisis are continuing to operate in the country—and this in the period after the 17th and even the 20th LCY Central Committee sessions. The most recent events in Kosovo Province are dramatizing, to the most extreme limits, the unfavorable political and security situation, with unforeseeable consequences. For Mihail Danev the events in Kosovo have a priority place among the generators of the crisis, although no less important are the galloping growth of inflation, the slow down in the economic development of Macedonia and Yugoslavia, and the decline in the standard of living. Workers' families, those who ensure their existence by their work, are in a very difficult situation, and there are instances of a feeling of hopelessness and doubt in the capability of the LC and the political system to find a way out of the crisis. According to Danev, at today's Macedonian LC Central Committee session, there should be a complex assessment of the present situation; a debate on this should be rounded off in the municipal organizations and the Skopje University and City committee; and the guidelines of the ideopolitical action of the Macedonian LC should also be established.

The priority tasks in this direction are, not only for the LC, the battle for economic stabilization, the revitalization of the economy, and the curbing of inflation. Unless concrete results are achieved in this sphere, the situation will get even worse. In this context, in Danev's judgment, the implementation of the economic reforms are of exceptional importance.

No less important is the calling of a halt to the negative processes in intranational relations, because in all environments, so to speak, nationalism is growing. The processes of the national homogenization and the disintegration of the country are also enhanced. Divisions and confrontation, especially on a national basis within and among individual leaderships, are present. This could be carried over into confrontation between nations and nationalities. The crisis in internal Party relations, Danev stressed, and the link-up between national administrative structures, is preventing the LC from putting a stop to these tendencies, because nationalism has encompassed even individual LC members and organs.

The negative situation and relations in the LCY are continuing despite the clearly established stances of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. This is also reflected, Danev said, in the increasingly marked tendencies toward the disunity and federalization of the LC and the widespread phenomena of the bureaucratization of individual leaderships, their separation from the membership, and the loss of a class and revolutionary base is having a negative impact on the implementation of the LC's leading ideopolitical role and on the effectiveness of its action in solving major social problems. Hence, according to Danev, what is needed is not only involvement for the reaffirmation of the LCY's fundamental program orientation but also the most concrete realization of the tasks of the 20th LCY Central Committee session. Here, all open questions should be resolved in a democratic dialogue, while fully respecting reasoned arguments, and a Yugoslav synthesis should be achieved in this way. [passage omitted]

The crisis in society is fertile ground for the appearance of anti-self-management and antisocialist notions and tendencies, Danev continued. Attempts are being made to operate as an opposition, to associate and offer platforms which run counter to LC policy and the AVNOJ (the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) character of the Yugoslav socialist community of equal nations and nationalities and its socialist self-managing development. [passage omitted]

The protests, strikes, and other dissatisfaction of the working class in Macedonia, Mihail Danev stressed, have demonstrated how deep the roots of the social crisis are. This is why the workers are demanding more socialism, the focus of which will be the individual. He is requesting more self-management and more work so as to work and earn with his own efforts and for his own existence. The workers are against indulging in bureaucratic tactics and procrastination and are against the so-called "distribution of forces" in the highest organs of the country and the LC. They no longer tolerate the marathon sessions and conclusions which are binding on no one. They request more rapid and effective action, and not half-measures, for the implementation of established policy, but also the responsibility of those who behave in a different way. In a word, they demand a modern, socialist self-managing society appropriate to the 21st century and a new modern LC as their vanguard in the realization of their direct and long-term interests. [passage omitted]

The battle for new and progressive things must be transferred to the base and to where life takes place and income is generated. The battle for the reforms, Danev concluded, must be distributed among all social subjects and not only among workers and the poorest. There should no longer be toleration of the practice of "heaping everything onto the backs of the LC and its leaderships at all levels." Hence, the reforms should not bypass other socio-political organizations, above all the SAWP, the trade union federation, and the youth organization. [passage omitted]

Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, assessed in his winding-up speech that the complex socio-economic and political situation in Macedonia is intensifying. Under pressure from the biggest growth in inflation and the unsuccessful attempts to halt the fall in the living standard, Lazaroski stressed, political and social tension is growing.

Members of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, approved a decision which reduces the membership fee by an average of 36 percent; the largest percentage reduction in the membership fee—one of as much as 70 percent—is for LC memebers with the lowest earnings.

At the end of today's session, the Central Committee carried out a cadre renewal in keeping with the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. Nineteen new members of the Macedonian LC Central Committee were elected, while there were 28 on the list of those who had been put forward.

Central Committe Members accepted the resignation of the president of the Skopje LC City Committee from membership of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, in keeping with the stances of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee on cadre renewal and the separation of posts.

Pancevski Gives Address

LD2702184789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Skopje, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—A member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Milan Pancevski, devoted his entire speech, at today's session of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, to events in Kosovo. He assessed that the overall political situation in Yugoslavia and Macedonia essentially depends upon their resolution. The lastest events are completely clear and concrete and direct resistance to the changes which began after the LCY Central Committee sessions devoted to Kosovo. At the same time, they are an attempt to continue in a demonstrative way with the counterrevolution which began in 1968 and 1981. [sentence as received]

Even the most elementary analysis, Pancevski pointed out, shows the clearly organized nature of the protest, and clear and unhidden manipulations are also visible. It is clear that the instigators and organizers—Albanian nationalists and separatists—are in league with individuals and forces in the Kosovo LC and in the institutions of the self- managing and political system.

Their platform is to continue along the path of Albanian nationalism and separatism, to continue the process where the majority prevails and where there is a homogenizing process among the Albanian nationality in Kosovo, instead of relations of togetherness and equality being built in the province. The aim, said Pancevski, is to continue support for the complete Albanianization of Kosovo, in other words, to create a suitable context for the formal proclamation of Kosovo as a republic, to include parts of Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, as well as for its final secession from Yugoslavia.

This is the political essence of the events in Kosovo, and it is clear to every Yugoslavian citizen and it should be even clearer to communists, stressed Pancevski. The workers' demands are clearly not in the least working class, rather they are in profound opposition to the authentic interests of the working class of Kosovo and further afield. They are the expression of extremely tragic processes for the working class of Yugoslavia and in this case of Kosovo as well, because everything which is happening is a crude devaluation of the role and dignity of the working class and its authentic interests.

In conditions of long-term and serious bureaucratization, which has been particularly marked in Kosovo, conditions of long-term indoctrination from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism and of the overall escalation of nationalism, of political crisis, and of disunity in Yugoslavia, it is clear that parts of the working class, working people, citizens, and young people can be the object of open and perfidious manipulations, said Pancevski. This does not in the least mean a condemnation of working people and the young, on the contrary, all of us in Yugoslavia must understand that this is a case of a serious blow to the LC and a warning to it for having allowed this to occur over a long period.

We cannot express solidarity for the workers in Kosovo by supporting their demands, because this would mean supporting the destruction of Yugoslavia, of socialism, self-management, brotherhood, and unity and of the equality of our nations and nationalities. Solidarity and assistance from us would be to explain to the Kosovo workers and the wider working class that the interests of the Yugoslav working class are not nationalism, separatism, and hatred among peoples—which is what nationalists are pushing them into—but that the united interests of both the class and the people is a life together.

Any other kind of support, said Pancevski, would only be false solidarity, a devaluation of the working class, it would simply be the shedding of crocodile tears over the interests of the Kosovo workers. To express such support would be to participate in the destruction of the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. This is all the more so, since it is clear that it is the aim of Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo and others like them in Yugoslavia, and of the Stalinist-nationalist regime in Albania and other reactionary circles to prevent in this way economic reform and radical changes in the political system which are the only way out of the crisis.

Pancevski spoke finally about the significance of events in Kosovo for Macedonia. He assessed that they represented a direct attack on the Macedonian nation and its statehood and uniqueness, and on the authentic interests of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities and the ethnic groups whose state is Macedonia. This is the latest open and crude attack directed against equality, brotherhood, and unity which are being achieved in Macedonia.

It follows quite clearly that we say decisively and categorically to these enemies and others that the Macedonian nation and all other nations and nationalities in Macedonia will struggle firecely and with all their forces against them. Let it be clear to all exponents of what is blackest and most reactionary that their dark goals will never be achieved and that not one inch of Macedonia or Yugoslavia can be seized by anyone, concluded Pancevski.

Ckrebic Delivers Speech

LD2802030089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—The political situation at the present moment is very difficult due to both the economic crisis and discontent with the deteriorating living standard, the failure to realize the degree of inefficiency of the state; the extent of the activity by hostile forces, as well as numerous other reasons. However, the situation in Kosovo and the activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists remain the key issue, Dusan Ckrebic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said at today's session of the Macedonian LC Central Committee.

Yugoslav citizens are disappointed at the inefficiency of the efforts to crush the counterrevolution in Kosovo. The 8-year period has been spent in a rather fruitless struggle. Intranational relations in Kosovo in general, and within its LC and its leadership, have reached rock bottom. In an effort to resolutely implement the LCY measures designed to crush the counterrevolution, cadre changes have been carried out to consolidate the provincial leadership and enable it to tackle the numerous problems of Kosovo especially Albanian nationalists and separatists. This is why the Albanian nationalists have focused their efforts on toppling this leadership. All available means are being used; at the moment, even miners are being involved and fierce pressures and blackmail are being employed.

We are not faced here with a personal demand for changes, but with an attempt to destroy a policy, i.e., the LCY policy on Kosovo and its struggle against Albanian nationalism. To see this simply as a demand for cadre changes which should be met is yet another example of the nonsense heard recently, and is directed toward destroying a united approach to the problems of Kosovo and their resolution.

Ckrebic went on to stress that there were different views of the situation in Kosovo and on ways of resolving the crisis there. In some parts of the country, this is only perhaps an academic issue. On the other hands, for others, including us, this is a crucial issue of existence.

The demands are focused on a few people, some of whom have been in top posts for just a few weeks, because they have shown readiness to change the situation in Kosovo, to fight, to implement a Yugoslav policy. They are ready to fight for constitutionally guaranteed conditions that would halt the emigration. The Albanian nationalists, on the other hand, want a leadership that would continue with the futile battle of the last 8 years, which has produced no results. It is obvious that these are in no way cadre of personal issues, but are attempts to topple the leadership, which has shown that it is ready to and can pursue the LCY policy much more efficiently than has been the case so far.

In addition, there is evidence of organized resistance to the constitutional changes in Serbia, led and organized with the help of a whole assortment of misinformation and lies, such as those about the plan to abolish the provinces, the Albanian language and script, schools, etc.

The manipulation with the miners and the demands for the replacement of the proven fighters for the policy of the LCY are only a part of a broader plan for continuing the policy designed to create an ethnically pure Kosovo, to continue the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and to give Kosovo the status of a republic. Whoever decides to accept these demands due to pressures or for humanitarian reasons, political opportunism, humanitarian concern, or political realism must be aware of the far-reaching consequences of such a decision and the many, indirect damages it is likely to incur.

The LCY and its leadership are again faced with new challanges as well as new responsibilities. I am not convinced that at the moment all parts of the country are aware of the far-reaching consequences of deviating from the LCY policy in practice for the benefit of humanitarian reasons and of giving in to flagrant pressures, dictates, etc. Each one of us must bear responsibility for what he does. [passage omitted]

Further Proceedings of Belgrade Meeting Noted

Smole Refuses To Attend

LD2802103289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP, has arrived in Belgrade, but because of the protest gathering now taking place outside the Federal Assembly building, has refused to attend today's session of the SAWP Federal Conference Presidium, of which he is a member. He sees the protest gathering of Belgrade citizens and students in reaction to the events in Kosovo and reaction to last night's meeting in Cankar House in Ljubljana as definite pressure on the SAWP Federal Conference Presidium, he said.

Outside the SFRY Assembly, more than 100,000 citizens from many Belgrade collectives have now gathered. At about 1030 [0930 GMT], the demands by the students in connection with the latest events in Kosovo were read aloud to those gathered.

Assembly Delegates Join

LD2802115389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1053 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Titograd, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—A meeting of "brotherhood and unity," organized by the Titograd Municipal Trade Union Council, has just started outside the republican assembly building. It is being attended by over 20,000 people. The meeting was opened by Radomir Ivanovic, secretary of the trade union organization of Titograd. He stressed that the working people of Titograd are aware that the destiny of Yugoslavia is being shaped, that the destiny of our life together on its soil is being decided upon, as well as the destiny of future generations. By coming to this protest meeting we wish to inform the Yugoslav and world public that we will not allow the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia to be split in anyone's favor, nor any concessions to counterrevolution in Kosovo, Ivanovic stressed.

The participants in the meeting have been joined by all the delegates of the Montenegrin Assembly. They interrupted a session of the assembly chambers, and it is expected that a proclaimation will be read at the meeting supporting the measures of the Yugoslav State Presidency to break the counterrevolution in the province.

Belgrade SAWP Chief Speaks

AU2802121289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Speech by Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade SAWP, in front of the SFRY Assembly building on 28 February—live]

[Text] [Beginning of speech indistinct because correspondent's report from the square in front of the assembly still being carried by radio] ...the citizens of Belgrade sent to the top Yugoslav leadership. I shall repeat some of their demands.

First, we extend full support to the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia and its Presidium, and the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, led by Comrade Rahman Morina, in implementing all the measures to preserve the order in the country as envisaged by the Constitution.

Second, we demand a consistent implementation of the established LCY policy on Kosovo. We demand that the counterrevolutionary demands made in Kosovo should not be met and that no blackmail should be accepted.

Third, we demand that the resignations by the newly elected Kosovo leadership led by Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; Husamedin Azemi, president of the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium; and Ali Sukrija, member of the LCY Central Committee, should not be accepted because we are talking about proven fighters for a united Yugoslavia and for the brotherhood and unity of peoples and nationalities in Kosovo and in the rest of the country.

Fourth, we demand that Pristina University students and professors and Kosovo workers stop their support of the policy which is destroying Yugoslavia, and that they join us in our efforts to achieve a better and unified life together. We strive for the full equality and full freedom of all peoples and nationalities in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

Please, could you maintain a bit of order.

We demand that the Serbian Constitution be adopted through an emergency procedure, as suggested by the Serbian Assembly. [indistinct cheers]

We demand that the support to Albanian nationalists and separatists by a section of the political bodies of the SR of Croatia and the SR of Slovenia be publicly condemned. [loud cheer]

This particularly refers to the speakers and speeches made at the meeting in Ljubljana. [indistinct cheers]

We will not allow the already organized coalition in the country to break up Yugoslavia and to divide the workers class according to nationality because this is an anti-Yugoslav and anticommunist coalition. [chants of "Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia"]

Because the fulfillment of our demands primarily depends on the state and party leadership of Yugoslavia, we demand an urgent session of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The students of Belgrade University demand that the the LCY policy be consistently implemented and that the accountability for the failure to implement this policy be established immediately. We particularly demand that Stipe Suvar and Stefan Korosec be called to account for the following reasons, for the following reasons: [Tomic repeats himself] [indistinct chanting]

First, because they allowed the replacement and humiliation in Kosovo of the communists who fight for the LCY Central Committee policy [indistinct cheers], particularly on Kosovo.

Second, because they passed over in silence the founding of political parties, which is an unconstitutional act. [cheering]

Third, because they allowed the Slovene leadership to openly support the demand that Kosovo be turned into a republic [indistinct cheering, chanting] and because it condemned the policy of the SR of Serbia which is trying to constitute Serbia as a state and halt the persecution of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

In this way the Slovene leadership is opposing the policy of the LCY on Yugoslavia and Kosovo. This amounts to inflicting a serious blow to the Serbian nation and all of Yugoslavia as a community of equal peoples and nationalities. This is an attack on the sovereignty and integrity of Yugoslavia, socialism, the equality of the peoples and nationalities, and brotherhood and unity.

We support Comrades Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija and demand that their resignations not be adopted.

We demand that the miners of the Leposavic mine leave the pit and that all their demands be met. [indistinct cheers]

We demand from the SFRY Presidency that it immediately present its views on the founding of opposition parties and take state measures against this unconstitutional situation which forms the basis for an anti-Yugoslav policy as was demonstrated in the Cankar Hall. We demand from the SFRY Presidency the names of the organizers of the November demonstrations in Kosovo and the organizers of the strike by the Stari Trg miners, and we demand it to take urgent legal measures against these organizers, which is to say, to arrest the ring leaders. [indistinct cheers]

We demand that our demands be met immediately and we expect to be informed about this by the leadership. [indistinct shouts]

We extend full support to the measures that are (?used) in the fight against Albanian separatism and nationalism in Kosovo and which [words indistinct]. The people (?extend full support) to the Serbian Presidency and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee to [words indistinct]. We will do everything to (?preserve) the united Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

I have another proposal. The meeting of workers, students, and citizens continues and is waiting for an answer to the demands expressed here. [Words indistinct] time of these proposals and the time for holding the meeting of the highest organs which are supposed to discuss and adopt [words indistinct] demands, we propose that that no further speeches be made and that no further demands be made.

Long live the SFRY, [cheers of "Long live"], long live the SR of Serbia [cheers of "Long live"], long live the LC of Serbia [cheers of "Long live"]. Thank you.

Lack of Official Stance on Satanic Verses Chided

AU2402154489 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
21 Feb 89 p 5

[Jozica Grgic commentary: "Is Fanaticism Our Fate?"]

[Text] Yugoslavia is hosting Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i precisely at a time when the world press, radio and television broadcasts, public workers, writers, and politicians are giving vent to their indignation and astonishment over Ayatollah Khomeyni's call for the murder of Salman Rushdie, author of The Satanic Verses.

Of course, what is involved is a an unusual and very unfortunate coincidence, because this state visit was planned before Khomeyni's call for lynching. Nevertheless, this is no reason for none of the official representatives of our state to so far state what he thinks about Khomeyni's crude statement: "I ask all Muslims of the world to kill the book's author and its publishers as soon as possible, regardless where they may find them, to ensure that no one will ever again dare insult the sacred values of the Muslims." It is precisely because of the visit by this high guest from Iran that one would really expect our diplomacy to express its view on the brutal call for execution. The fact is that only two conditions are needed to condemn such a statement: a public death threat and the indignation of the public. Nothing else is of importance, including the political relations between Yugoslavia and Iran or the economic interests, because what is involved is beyond these interests. Thus we are faced with the puzzle as to what has dictated this (non)stance to the Yugoslav diplomacy, a stance that represents nothing but sticking one's head in the sand. It is as though it were not unpleasant enough that all this is taking place at the time of the visit by the Iranian guest. In this event, the Yugoslav diplomacy should have spared no efforts to ensure that its reputation would be just a little less blackened in the eyes of international and our own public. While Yugoslavia's officialdom keeps silent about the shameful topic in order not to shame Iran, Europe has raised its voice against the religious and political fanaticism that demands the author's head. The London government will request EEC member-countries to adopt a united stance toward the Iranian threats against Salman Rushdie. The Spanish, Italian, French, and U.S. official circles have also reacted. But, obviously for who knows what interests, Yugoslavia has decided to wait until some fanatic carries out Khomeyni's unacceptable demand.

In no way whatsoever can we reconcile Khomeyni's threat with our period and our cultural environment even though we recognize the right of Islamic states to be different and their right to have rules that are totally contrary to our concepts. The obsession with death and the glorification of martyrdom in defense of faith, which are characteristic for all Islamic fundamentalists, are their own affair in their own way. But they are so only in their own way and only as long as they do not dictate political and cultural behavior, especially not on an international scale. And Khomeyni's threat has triggered actions on international scale precisely because Muslims in several countries are indignantly protesting, although they have not even read the book, The Satanic Verses. Of course, it is the simplest thing to rule people who are blinded by fanaticism, but what is to be done about those who have not been infected by any kind of fanaticism? Should they cease to speak, to think, and finally, even to breathe? And it is exactly to prevent fanaticisms from ruling human behavior that it is necessary to also adopt a political stance toward spiritual and civilization scandals. Is that too much to demand of the Yugoslav diplomacy?

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